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ABSTRACT

Most folk art activity occurs outside institutional settings, and while some of it intersects with commerce and popular culture, other portions find nurture from public and private funding. This study sketches the breadth and depth of folk and traditional arts activity in the United States. The inquiry combines field-based or case study methodologies and quantitative research. A small number of organizations, individuals, and activities were selected as case studies to provide in-depth examination of common issues, obstacles and useful strategies for action. Through these examples the report explores ways in which individuals, events, and organizations function in relationship to communities and traditions. Statistical information gives an idea of the involvement and interest in disparate areas of traditional culture and among various communities. The results of this study suggest that involvement and interest in folk arts and folk culture is significant and pervasive. Diversity of organizational involvement and type of activity is a characteristic feature of folk arts and culture. The guiding principles of the study include the understanding that all folk artists are local and that folk arts provide a sense of community. The findings suggest several challenges: to respect cultural differences and encourage understandings among diverse groups; to consider the ways to make broader recognition and participation possible; to develop more inclusive definitions of what constitutes "art," what constitutes "arts" organizations, and more holistic and flexible approaches to efforts involving cultural presentation and conservation. (MM)

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Cambodian silk weaver Bun Em and her daughter Pech Yuos, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. (Photo by Jane Levine © 1996 courtesy of Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission)

THE CHANGING FACES OF TRADITION

A REPORT ON THE FOLK AND TRADITIONAL ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Written, edited and compiled by Elizabeth Peterson

Research Division Report #38
National Endowment for the Arts

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FOREWORD

The poet Wendell Berry has a vision for a future where communities are guided by local culture. He writes:

"We can perhaps speak with a little competence of how it would begin. It would not be imported from critically approved cultures elsewhere. It would not come from watching certified classics on television. It would begin in work and love. People at work in their communities three generations old would know that their bodies renewed, time and again, the movements of other bodies, living and dead, known and loved, remembered and loved, in the same shops, houses, and fields. That, of course, is a description of a kind of community dance. And such a dance is perhaps the best way we have to describe harmony."

When thinking about the folk and traditional arts, one automatically thinks of community, or traditions passed down through generations, or — to paraphrase Berry — art that is remembered and loved, renewed by the living and dead, arts in harmony with our instinct to create.

The folk and traditional arts field described in this study is enormously complex, encompassing the traditions of literally thousands of communities, but in another way it is quite simple to comprehend. Folk and traditional arts have the aura of authenticity about them: real art by real people who draw their inspiration, technique and aesthetics from traditions as old as the land, as old as home, as old as a family and community.

The stories and findings of this report bear out the need for us to continue to support and sustain the traditional arts. Alan Lomax warns: "If we continue to allow the erosion of our cultural forms, soon there will be no place to visit and no place to truly call home." The folk arts are part of what make our homes and communities ours. They breathe life into the community dance.

Jane Alexander
Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts

INTRODUCTION

> "THE FIELD OF FOLK ARTS IS NURTURED IN AMERICA'S COMMUNITIES, PROVIDING FOR THE REINVIGORATION AND SUSTENANCE OF COMMUNITY STRENGTH AROUND THE CONCERNS THAT ALL AMERICANS SHARE."
>
> [illegible]
> Humboldt Area Foundation

The "field" is the folk and traditional arts. These "accessible arts," to paraphrase one folklorist, are practiced among families, friends and neighbors throughout the United States in familiar settings of everyday life and, increasingly, on concert stages and in museums. Most folk arts activity occurs outside institutional settings and, while some of it intersects with commerce and popular culture, other portions find nurturance from public and private funding. Folk arts are seemingly everywhere and nowhere at the same time. This study sketches the breadth and depth of folk and traditional arts activity in the United States.

Our goal is to begin to provide some quantitative and evaluative data about this area of cultural activity which remains remarkably unexamined. There is no national service organization to track information about folk and traditional arts. Systematic research has rarely been conducted to assess the growth of folk arts organizations, the nature and extent of artistic activity, audience participation or constituents served. Most documentation efforts remain scattered, anecdotal and simplistic in their conceptions. Studies of other areas of the arts provide little help, compounding this lack of information since traditional artists, cultural practitioners and community-based organizations are rarely counted in studies which rely on self-identification.

But how does one go about identifying the unidentified? How do you count or account for all the basketmakers, tamburitza groups, volunteer-run ethnic organizations, bluegrass societies, gospel quartets, crafts fairs, family-based rituals and traditions, the church suppers or Buddhist temples? In fact, you don't. Instead, this study examines how artists, communities and organizations marshal the desire and resources to make folk arts activities happen and continue. Within a larger context of social scientific research, planning and evaluation, folk arts and other community-based arts require a re-consideration of conventional approaches to measurement, assessment and evaluation. A different kind of inquiry combining field-based or case study methodologies with quantitative research is essential to fully understanding the diverse cultural situations and non-institutional base of most folk or traditional arts. This study is a first exploration towards that goal and an invitation to others to amplify its findings.

With the assistance of Endowment staff and a national advisory committee, a small number of organizations, individuals and activities were selected as case studies to provide in-depth examination of common issues, obstacles and useful strategies for action. While they do not constitute a representative sampling of the field, they suggest a broad spectrum of folk arts activities. Profiles were developed by writers with expertise in the field—artists and specialists alike. They conducted interviews and analyzed materials provided by the organizations or individuals in the study.

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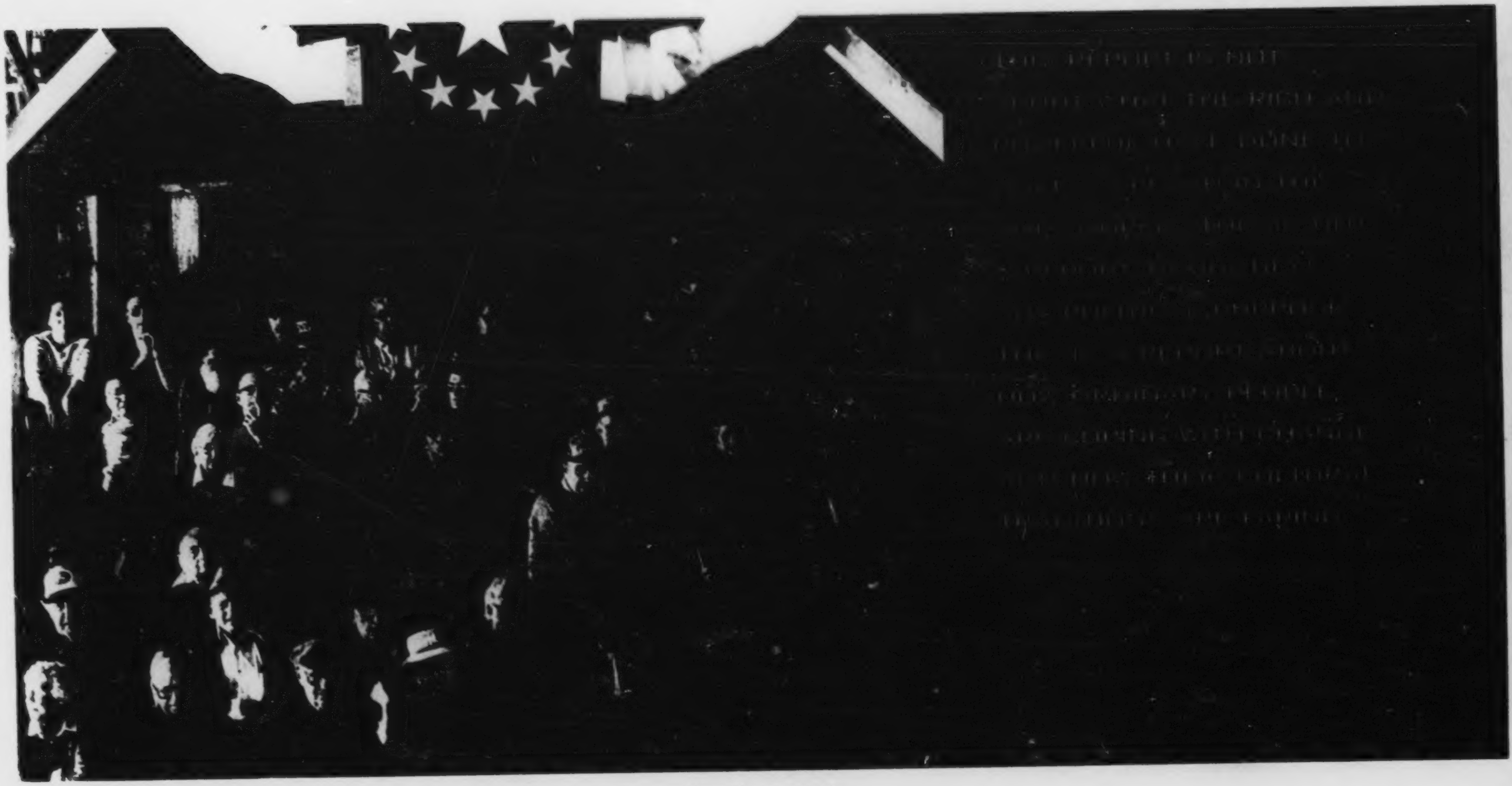


[illegible]

Spectators at Fryeburg Fair, Maine. (Photo by Craig Blouin/courtesy of Maine Arts Commission)

DAVID GONZALES PERFORMING COMANCHE DANCE, TALPA, NEW MEXICO, 1996.
(PHOTO BY MIGUEL GANDERT ©1996)

Statistical information appears throughout the publication—some from original surveys developed for the study and conducted by NuStats, Inc. of Austin, Texas (*see page 10 for further discussion of methodology*) as well as available sources. The study has been structured to be as inclusive as possible. The two original surveys, for instance, track breadth and depth of organizational involvement in the folk arts. One focuses on a small sample of those organizations self-identified as folk arts or folklife organizations while the other assesses the range of organizations nationwide involved in folk arts activity and their level of participation. The National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA) provided further information regarding the range of activities and institutions funded through folk arts programs at state arts agencies throughout the U.S.[1] Other data point to impact, provides contextual information and breadth of activity in areas of cultural life sufficiently institutionalized and organized to track such information—particularly performing arts.

The results of this study suggest that involvement and interest in folk arts and folk culture is significant, pervasive and increasing in varying cultural worlds—from ethnic organizations, museums, libraries, schools, historical societies and local arts agencies to folk arts organizations, presenters, festivals, fraternal organizations, Saturday night dances and beyond. For instance, types of organizations responding to the NuStats survey designed to gauge breadth of activity included several local arts agencies; performance groups; historical societies; non-art museums; festivals; schools and other instructional organizations; community service organizations; folklore or folk music societies; and a substantial number of cultural centers engaged in multi- disciplinary activity.[2] Three primary motivations or perspectives guide these organizations in their support of folk arts or traditional cultural activity. Discipline specific interests—weaving groups, pottery centers, folk music societies—define one important category of involvement. Arts or cultural organizations attempting to reflect or serve the needs and interests of a particular region or locale are another—that is, organizations such as local arts agencies who serve the needs of a diverse local population or organizations such as historical societies, heritage preservation groups, cultural tourism organizations or organizations who not only serve a particular locale or region but also offer programs or services *of* or *about* that locale. The broadest and most significant category of involvement, however, involves programming focusing upon traditional art or culture as an expression of cultural identity.

Other data from NASAA confirm these findings as well. Information from state arts agencies for fiscal year 1994 reveals that they funded 48 types of organizations, the most common ones being primary schools, community service

Types of Activity of Organizations Involved in Folk Arts Programming

(n=102)

Public Demonstrations or Workshops	**83%**
Concerts, tours, performances	**76%**
School programs	**76%**
Exhibitions	**65%**
Festivals	**61%**
Other	**18%**

Since survey respondents were permitted more than one response, percentages do not total 100. "Other" includes a wide range of activity such as weekly dances, publications, radio programs, conferences, outreach activity and fieldwork/documentation. Source: NuStats, Inc.

Annual Budget of Organizations Involved in Folk Arts Activity

(n=102)

Under $50,000	**33%**
$50,000-$100,000	**16%**
$100,000-$250,000	**18%**
$250,000-$500,000	**10%**
$500,000-$1,000,000	**4%**
Over $1,000,000	**15%**
No answer	**4%**

Source: NuStats, Inc.

organizations, local arts councils and agencies, school districts, performing groups and non-art museums. The Fund for Folk Culture's Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Community Folklife Program has funded organizations as varied as the Winnebago Language & Culture Preservation Committee, the Historic Chattahoochee Commission, the World Music Institute and the Ethnic Heritage Council of the Pacific Northwest. A previous NEA publication, *Cultural Centers of Color*, indicates significant involvement in folk arts programming by these centers and underscores the great importance of traditional culture in contemporary arts activity in communities of color.[3] (*See page 11*) Such diversity of organizational involvement and type of activity is a characteristic feature of folk arts and culture.

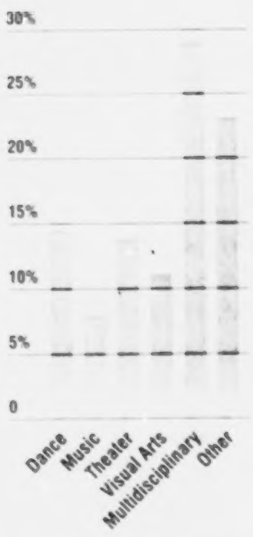
While most folk arts activity throughout the United States is carried out on a part-time basis, it is nonetheless an integral part of a daily, weekly or seasonal rhythm of community and organizational life. No amount of numbers can appropriately convey that fact. In ideal circumstances, folk arts as a living cultural heritage enable individuals and communities to shape and make sense of the world. Ultimately, this study is about the ways in which artists and communities value and share their artistic and cultural inheritances, create and change within the parameters of community tradition, connect with each other and those around them and organize for greater strength and continuity.

A Note about Methodology

For this study, two surveys were conducted by NuStats, Inc. of Austin, Texas on behalf of the National Endowment for the Arts. The first survey was designed to obtain information about the breadth and range of organizational involvement in the folk and traditional arts throughout the U.S. and its territories. Mailing lists were solicited from state and regional arts agencies, cultural agencies in the territories, and, on occasion, folk arts organizations functioning in a state-wide capacity or programs housed in other state-wide agencies. From a combined total of 1,539 addresses received from 42 states, a random sampling of approximately 500 organizations were sent surveys. Nearly 200 were returned because of incorrect addresses. Of the remaining organizations, 102 completed surveys for a response rate of 33%.

A lengthier second survey designed to attain more detail on organizational status, activities, and needs of 501(c)(3) folk arts organizations was sent to a sampling of 31 self-identified folk arts organizations to which 74% responded. The nine page survey covered topics pertaining to organizational background; facility and programming space; programming activity; audience and communities served; community relationships and organizational visibility; and financial status and needs. In addition to the original surveys, other relevant statistical data were consulted as well and are referenced throughout the study. Interviews conducted with individuals in the field helped to identify issues for the study. An advisory working group served in a consulting capacity throughout the duration of the study and assisted in shaping the focus. Eight topics representing diverse aspects and interests of the field were chosen to be profiled to provide a broad sense of issues, historical development, and range of activity. Most profiles are based largely on interviews and materials provided by organizations and individuals.

Distribution of Cultural Centers of Color by Disciplines
(n=543)



Distribution of cultural centers of color by discipline. See table for break-out of "other" category. Reprinted from *Cultural Centers of Color* (National Endowment for the Arts, 1992).

Number of Cultural Centers of Color in Other* Artistic Disciplines
(n=110)

Folk Arts	24
Humanities	18
Media Arts	18
Opera/Music Theater	12
Literature	9
Nonarts/Nonhumanities	9
Interdisciplinary	8
Crafts	7
Design Arts	4

*Cultural centers of color working in "other" disciplines. Reprinted from *Cultural Centers of Color* (National Endowment for the Arts, 1992).

Folk Arts Funding at a Glance

From 1986 through 1991 [illegible] funding for folk arts [illegible] year 1991 [illegible] Assembly of State Arts Agencies [illegible] awards [illegible] grants [illegible]

State arts agency funding supported the work of [illegible] 15,000,000 [illegible] reported [illegible] attendance [illegible]

[illegible] jurisdictions [illegible] folk arts grants in FY 1992 [illegible] made folk arts [illegible]

In addition to the $1,2[illegible] in folk arts grants awarded by states in FY 1992 [illegible] estimated additional funds of $[illegible] reached folk arts through other funding categories, such as ethnic dance [illegible] music, crafts and multidisciplinary categories.

According to Local Arts Agencies [illegible] 1991 [illegible] grants from the [illegible]

In the Private Funding [illegible] The Fund for Folk Culture, Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest [illegible] Community Folklife Program [illegible] $740,000 [illegible] programs [illegible] grants [illegible]

[illegible] the National Endowment for the Arts Folk & Traditional Arts Program [illegible]

According to preliminary [illegible] agencies funded 26 types of folk art [illegible] festivals or programs; the most common [illegible] performances [illegible] operating support [illegible]

[illegible] Fund for Folk Culture [illegible] Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest [illegible] Community Folklife Program [illegible]

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EVERY ARTIST [illegible]

All artists are local. The concept is deceptively simple but it speaks directly to one of the two guiding principles of this study. In its examination of the breadth and depth of folk and traditional arts activity in communities throughout the U.S., this study is based on a particular approach to art. It is a study that understands art and artists as an integral part of the social, cultural and economic life of a given community. It takes for granted the power of art to speak through time and across cultures and yet, it values the grounded specificity of traditional arts and artistic traditions in everyday life and further, it values the aesthetic and cultural diversity that such an approach implies. It also understands that traditional arts and artists are doubly local, that traditional arts are both rooted in time and place and expressions of the shared aesthetics, values and meanings of a cultural community. In much the same way as writer Peter Guralnick described the "roots musicians" whom he profiled in *Lost Highway*, this study looks at traditional artists who speak from a "shared experience that links them inextricably not to the undifferentiated mass audience that television courts, but to a particular, sharply delineated group of men and women who grew up in circumstances probably very much like their own, who respond to the [art] not just as entertainment but as a vital part of their lives."[5]

All artists are local. The statement speaks also to some of the issues involved in making generalizations about the folk arts as well as the cultural needs and resources of diverse communities. As the profiles aptly illustrate, the concerns and circumstances of particular traditions vary. Some traditions continue to thrive, the meaning and value of others have changed and shifted over time, while still others are critically endangered. Many Native American traditions, as Dave Warren's comment makes clear, are at the brink of extinction and will possibly die with the current generation of elders. As David Roche's article describes, Sam-Ang Sam and other Cambodian artists are involved in a literal fight for cultural reclamation. Quilts, objects of beauty once made of necessity, are now for many a pursuit of leisure. On the other hand, Louisiana Cajun music, language and culture, thought to be in imminent danger of demise thirty and forty years ago, are undergoing a revival and have been for some time. Much the same thing could be said for many Hawaiian cultural traditions.

All artists are local. While traditional art and culture derive much of their strength and eloquence from this grounded specificity, it has also made the field vulnerable—for a simple reason. Most cultural funding programs have historically favored artists who come from "somewhere else" and have concentrated on delivering artistic resources or assets *to* communities from outside. Certainly, these approaches are not wrong or made with bad intent but their rigid application can sometimes make it easy for funders

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Puerto Rican plena musicians performing in front of a memorial wall, New York City.
(Photo by Martha Cooper ©1996)

and policy makers to be blind to the artistic traditions that are *of*, *by* and *for* a community and blind to the local wisdom which insists on identifying or developing the artistic traditions and cultural resources *within* and *between* communities. It is a dilemma worth considering and one to which this and other fields grounded in cultural specificity and approaches may be able to respond. At the heart of the dilemma are questions concerning the meaningful intersection of local, regional and national resources. How do we listen and respond to local wisdom? How do we identify local cultural resources? How can state, regional or national resources be brought to bear upon the needs and problems of particular cultural communities and traditions in ways that make sense? Through the profiles and other information contained in this publication, it is our intent to abstract lessons and suggest successful strategies which address some of these questions.

Just as John Dos Passos provided a newsreel of headlines in his classic U.S.A. trilogy to indicate an historically resonant context, the disparate numbers shown on the next page provide a suggestive context for this study. They are shards that refract light in several directions and they can be manipulated in many ways. They speak directly to massive social and cultural change and signify loss for some, a shuffling of boundaries for others and new beginnings for still more. Implicit in the numbers, too, are the "concerns"

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Juggling Numbers:
Demographic Bursts and Paradoxes

- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

to which Peter Pennekamp referred in the opening quotation as well as an uncertainty about the meaning of community in an America in demographic flux. This sense of community is the second guiding principle of this study.

Community is a much bandied-about term these days. We speak about "the community" as if it were one monolithic entity. We speak about "getting community input" and "advocating for the community." But mostly, we speak about the loss of community, a lack of connectedness, the feeling of being cut adrift in a fragmented world that moves too fast. Home is a source of comfort for some. For others, home is a place to leave, a place to mark time or a place made unrecognizable by irrevocable (and sometimes violent) change. Civil wars, global trade, ecological and technological change are rendering obsolete our notions of national borders as well as the borders defining our communities and private lives.

In *Habits of the Heart*, a sociological study of individualism and commitment in American life, the authors talk at great length about "communities of memory" and a shortened version of their definition is worth quoting here because it informs the sense of community that appears throughout this study and it speaks directly to the relationships of artist, artistic tradition and community which are at the core of traditional arts and culture.

"Communities, in the sense in which we are using the term, have a history—in an important sense they are constituted by their past—and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a 'community of memory'.... People growing up in communities of memory not only hear the stories that tell how the community came to be, what its hopes and fears are, and how its ideals are exemplified in outstanding men and women; they also participate in the practices—ritual, aesthetic, ethical—that define the community as a way of life. We call these 'practices of commitment' for they define the patterns of loyalty and obligation that keep the community alive. And if the language of the self-reliant individual is the first language of American moral life, the languages of tradition and commitment in communities of memory are "second languages" that most American know as well, and which they use when the language of the radically separate self does not seem adequate.'"[9]

While we might quibble with the emphasis the authors give to individualism as a trait valued equally by all cultural groups in the U.S., the definition of "communities of memory" accurately describes many of the groups portrayed in these pages. They are enduring communities that share more than similar interests, consumer preferences or geographic proximity. They share values and memories and their artistic traditions, their cultural heritage are nothing if not practices of "commitment." In his poem "The Second

Father's Day: Arabber Gilbert Hall, Sr. with his son Gilbert Hall, Jr. and grandson Gilbert Kinard Hall III, Baltimore. (Photo by Roland L. Freeman ©1996)

Coming," W. B. Yeats wrote, "things fall apart; the center cannot hold." Things do fall apart—they break, they change, they die—but somehow the center does seem to hold. This study contains stories which describe what that center is and how people hold onto it—at times for dear life.

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INHERITING AND SHARING

> "IT GIVES ME MUCH SATISFACTION WHEN I HAVE CREATED SOMETHING BEAUTIFUL, DURABLE AND USEFUL, AND EVEN MORE SATISFACTION AND PLEASURE WHEN I HAVE HELPED SOMEONE ELSE TO LEARN HOW."
>
> Mary Ann Norton
> Quilter, Mississippi

At the 1991 Association of Performing Arts Presenters annual conference, I sat in the audience listening to one of the keynote speakers, a noted theater director, lamenting state and federal cuts for arts in education. It was a worthy and forceful speech but one that focused exclusively on the omission of Western European fine arts traditions from the curriculum. At the time for questions and response, an equally forceful speaker—Phyllis Brzozowska, Executive Director of Cityfolk in Dayton, Ohio—stood at the microphone and observed that, as a child, she had learned to dance, not in school or ballet classes, but at Polish weddings and social gatherings. And, from those initial pleasurable experiences, she had learned to understand and appreciate other dance traditions.

I mention this anecdote not for the obvious humorous contrasts of "high and low" art or "folk and fine" art. Rather, Brzozowska's comments remind us that learning occurs in diverse contexts and that knowledge, inspiration and cultural memory are gained from myriad sources—grandparents, the friend next door as well as books and in classrooms. A classically trained musician, a ballet dancer, a boatbuilder, a quilter or an Irish step dancer—each one imparts valuable aesthetic lessons about discipline, practice, fulfillment and learning itself.

Brzozowska's remarks, however, also remind us that we learn and know the world and appreciate larger truths from particular cultural perspectives. Who am I? Where do I come from? Where do I fit in? These are fundamental questions of personal and cultural identity—questions we ask and answer throughout the course of our lives—and they are at the heart of the debates raging about multiculturalism and cultural diversity in education. For most of us, the answers to these questions are most real and palpable through "practices of commitment"—through simple acts of doing, making, sharing and participating in the lives and cultural legacies of our communities.

The two profiles which follow exemplify different successful strategies for encouraging experiential learning and the maintenance of traditions. The mariachi conference and festival movement profiled here by Mark Fogelquist is an example of a grassroots effort which has steadily grown and successfully combined the needs and interests of parents, teachers, students, artists, church and schools. Most of these events have been initiated by dedicated teachers, enthusiastic students or parents. They succeed because they involve many sectors of a community and they enable the community which surrounds a school to fully participate in its activities.

In contrast, Auerbach's profile about the Apprenticeship program focuses on an NEA-created program which has been adapted successfully in diverse rural and urban contexts in 38 programs (based mainly in state arts agencies)

"WHAT PEOPLE MUST
UNDERSTAND IS THAT THIS
ART IS NOT JUST DECORATION.
IT CARRIES AND SHAPES THE
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
TO THE [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
YOUR CULTURE [illegible] AND
THINK LIFE IS [illegible]

THE CONGA LESSON, PHILADELPHIA.
(PHOTO BY THOMAS B. MORTON © 1996)

throughout the United States. According to information from the National Assembly of States Arts Agencies, in fact, it is the primary mode of folk arts funding among state arts agencies and a dominant model for assisting and funding individual artists.[1] Labeled "intimate conservatories" by one person, the program's simplicity—one-on-one teaching over a period of several months—and its flexibility are, in large measure, the reasons for its success. Local and state organizations who administer apprenticeships are able to fine-tune and adjust their programs to meet the needs of diverse constituencies and cultural traditions. Sometimes, apprenticeship programs are used specifically as vehicles for preserving and perpetuating endangered traditions—several, for instance, have targeted diverse Native American craft traditions. Both profiled approaches consider local community life and cultural tradition as valuable resources and assets to be utilized and maintained. And both consider the shaping of cultural identity as a critical part of that process.

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> "THE BUMBLE BEE WAS NOT SUPPOSED TO FLY... NEITHER WAS THE MARIACHI FESTIVAL. SOMEHOW ALL OF THE RIGHT FACTORS CAME TOGETHER IN THE RIGHT BALANCE AND THE THING SOARED."

MARIACHI CONFERENCES AND FESTIVALS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY MARK FOGELQUIST

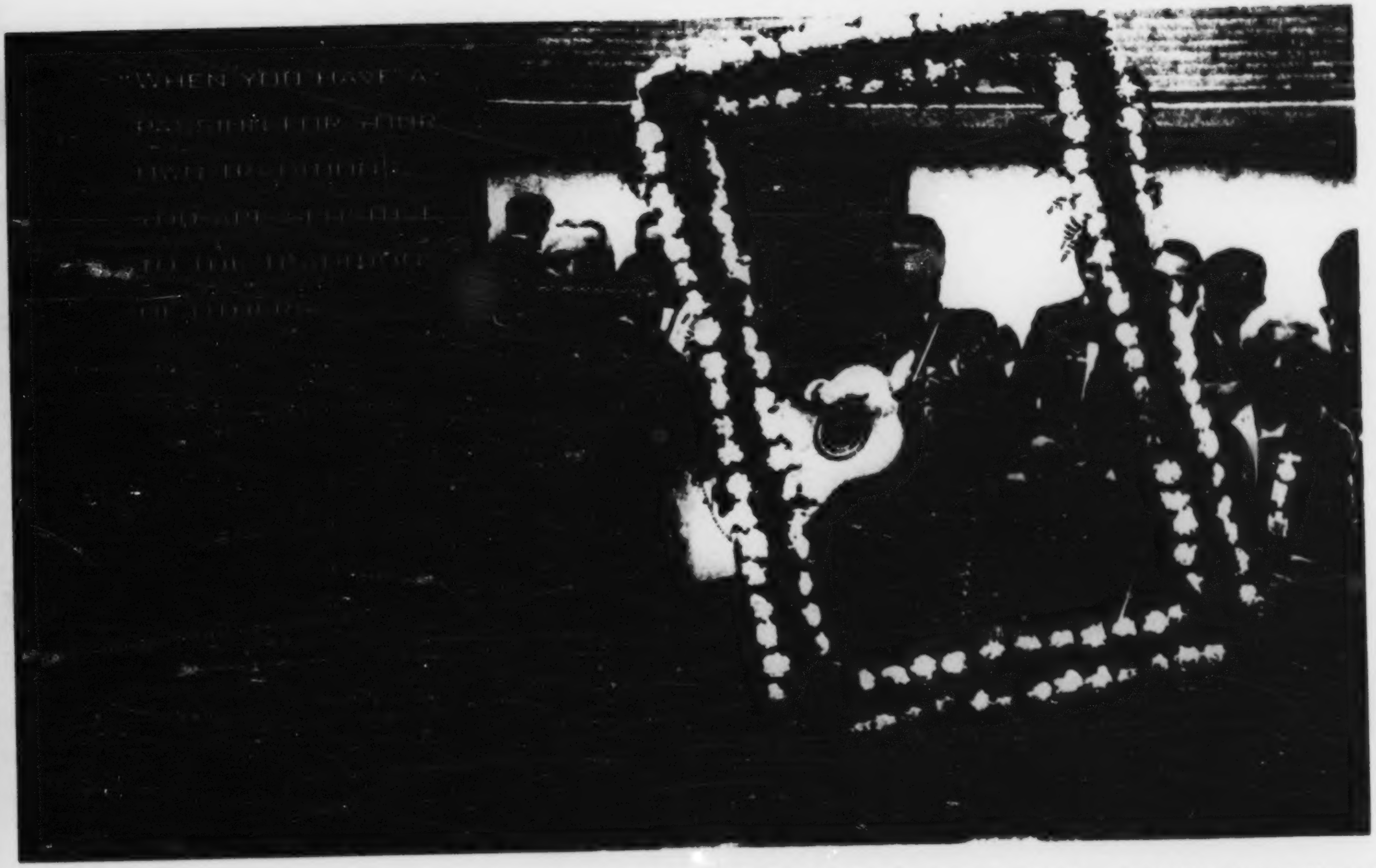
In 1991, a dedicated junior high school music teacher named John Vela, organized a mariachi festival in the South Texas town of Driscoll, population 600. Vela had been teaching mariachi music in the public schools since 1980 and wanted to provide an intensive learning experience for his students. Working with a budget of only $4,000, raised by the school's band boosters at car washes, rummage sales and from local merchants, Vela was able to bring four maestros of mariachi music from California to conduct workshops in guitarrón, vihuela, guitar, violin and trumpet. During this two day event, 150 students were immersed in intensive instrumental workshops and experienced presentations in mariachi history by the late Nicolás Torres, an early member of the legendary Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán. The event culminated in a concert which featured professional groups from Corpus Christi as well as student musicians.

The next year, the Festival was moved to Alice, a neighboring town, and the budget grew to $10,000. With this relatively small increase, Vela attracted 250 students to the workshops and was able to bring eminent instructors from Mexico, including Jesús Rodríguez de Híjar, considered one of the most important arrangers in the history of the tradition and Miguel Martínez, the greatest mariachi trumpeter of all time. The main concert featured the Mariachi Sol de México from Los Angeles, one of the most popular ensembles on the festival circuit during the past decade.

The success of the South Texas Mariachi Festival was made of several ingredients: unequivocal community support generated through a pre-existing school program, no frills budgeting and the total commitment of the organizer. These same components are typically found in many of the mariachi festivals and conferences that have been held throughout the Southwest in the past twenty years. The efforts of organizers like Vela have, in fact, given rise to a veritable movement, which not only reaches large audiences at festival concerts, but also involves thousands of students in primary, secondary and university mariachi programs throughout the region. This movement can be credited with the renewal of interest in mariachi music in Mexican and Mexican American communities on both sides of the border.[2]

The Rise of a Movement

Since the 1940s, Mexican enclaves in the United States have witnessed a steady rise in mariachi activity. While major groups in urban Mexico have generated their income from tours, recordings and the accompaniment of "star" singers *(artistas)* for some time, ensembles in the United States were initially employed almost entirely in the



"WHEN YOU HAVE A
PASSION FOR YOUR
OWN TRADITION,
YOU ARE SENSITIVE
TO THE TRADITIONS
OF OTHERS."

MARIACHI PROCESSION FOR THE FEAST DAY OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE, CRISTO REY MISSION, MALAGA, CALIFORNIA, 1994. (PHOTO BY ERIC PAUL ZAMORA/COURTESY OF FRESNO ARTS COUNCIL FOLK ARTS PROGRAM)

Mariachi: A National Symbol

Mariachi music is a regional variant of Mexican *mestizo* music, which began as an amalgam of Spanish, indigenous and African elements, emerging in the late eighteenth century as a new musical tradition with its own distinct character. Though primarily identified with the rural *campesino*, during the 1920s and 30s mariachi music moved from the villages of Jalisco and neighboring states to Mexico City and achieved a symbolic status as the national music. By the mid-1950s, complete instrumentation solidified along the lines that have remained the standard to the present; two trumpets, six violins, guitarrón (bass), vihuela (treble rhythm guitar), guitar and harp. For many Mexican Americans, mariachi music is becoming an important symbol of cultural identity.

cantina. Two key developments, however, took the mariachi beyond the barroom and enabled the festival movement to be born. In the mid-60s, Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano, an influential Los Angeles-based mariachi group, established the first night club where mariachi music was presented on a stage as a dinner show, reaching a new audience of highly assimilated middle class, urban immigrants and their off-spring. Simultaneously, mariachi instruction and performance began in some California, Arizona and Texas schools at the primary, secondary and university levels, a regional phenomenon akin to the inclusion of jazz in the school music curriculum.

These developments set the stage for the first mariachi conference, held in San Antonio, Texas in 1979. The event was organized by veteran San Antonio music educator Belle Ortiz. Inspired by visits to her grandparents' hometown of La Barca, Jalisco, Ms. Ortiz began an elementary school mariachi program in 1966. By the time of the first conference, this program had expanded to the secondary and community college level and had an enrollment of nearly 500 students. Like the South Texas Mariachi Festival, the First International Mariachi Conference was born from the desire to give students a superior educational and culturally resonant experience.

Having proved the viability of mariachi music in the classroom, Ms. Ortiz, then Music Supervisor for the San

Mariachi Uclatlán performing at the Hollywood Bowl as part of the Mariachi USA festival.
(Courtesy of Mark Fogelquist)

Radio Bilingüe

In 1976, farmworkers and artists formed Radio Bilingüe, a nonprofit community radio network based in Fresno, California because they believed that radio was the most effective way to reach and inform Latino populations in the San Joaquin Valley. The target audience were mostly low-income and Spanish-speaking Latinos who are underserved by traditional media. Today, Radio Bilingüe has grown to a network of five noncommercial radio stations which reach a monthly audience of 200,000.* Their award winning "Noticiero Latino" is the only Spanish-language news service in public broadcasting and is carried by more than 100 stations in the U.S. and Mexico. "In an average quarter hour some 8,000 people are tuned into Radio Bilingüe while in their homes, cars or in the farm fields," said Hugo Morales, founder of Radio Bilingüe. Radio Bilingüe also produces the annual Viva El Mariachi Festival and the Norteño Tejano Music and Dance festival. Both include workshops and serve as showcases for local talent as well as nationally known artists. "This is a big achievement for us—and a triumph for our Mexican American folk musicians," says Morales. In 1994, Hugo Morales received a MacArthur Fellowship in recognition of his innovative service and commitment. For information, contact: Radio Bilingüe, 5005 E. Belmont Ave., Fresno, CA 93727, 800-200-5758.

*Source: 1995 Arbitron ratings

Antonio Public Schools, solicited and received support from the City of San Antonio, the San Antonio Convention Bureau, the National Endowment for the Arts and corporate sponsors. Ms. Ortiz not only had enough credibility to harness local support for her conference, she also had enough vision to invite the finest group in the world, the Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán. According to Belle Ortiz, "it is difficult to imagine that the festival-conference movement would have gotten off the ground without the presence of the Mariachi Vargas at the first conference. Students and audiences were overwhelmed by the virtuosity of the Mariachi Vargas." Indeed, this ensemble became a committed force in the movement. In its distinguished eighty-year career, "El Mejor Mariachi del Mundo" ("The Best Mariachi in the World") had never been called upon to teach students in an organized conference setting. The musicians relished the new experience and have continued to give of their talents at numerous conferences ever since.

The first mariachi conference in San Antonio not only broke ground by its very existence, but established the model for subsequent conferences. Typically, the mariachi conference is centered around workshops in which students study their individual instruments with professionals, then come together at the end of the day to play the chosen pieces as a large ensemble, side-by-side, with the instructors. Many conferences offer additional presentations on mariachi vocal technique, the history of mariachi music, showmanship and dance. The typical conference also includes performances by student ensembles and invariably culminates in a concert featuring several professional groups with a grand finale in which the student musicians join professionals to form an enormous orchestra for the rendering en masse of one or two numbers. Since the main concert is a huge event in itself, with ticket prices beyond the reach of many aficionados, most of the larger conferences also offer a "Plaza Garibaldi experience," named after the plaza in Mexico City where mariachi groups have gathered to entertain customers ever since they first appeared in the capital in the 1920s. This event is usually held in a park, where a number of small stages are interspersed with food and beverage booths. Admission is moderately priced or free and attendance often surpasses that of the main concert. Many festivals also include the performance of a "Mariachi Mass" on Sunday morning.

Success Breeds Success

Scores of mariachi festivals too numerous to mention have been held since 1979 in places such as San Diego, Fresno, San Jose, El Paso and Las Vegas. While several last a year or two only to cease because of lack of funds, community support or organizational know-how, many have grown and produced interesting variations of the San Antonio model.

The Tucson International Mariachi Conference, for instance, began in 1983, four years after the San Antonio Conference, and is, by all measures, the largest mariachi conference in the United States. Originally organized by members of the Mariachi Cobre, a young professional group that emerged from the *Changuitos Feos* ("Ugly Monkeys" — the first youth mariachi in the United States), the Tucson Festival was turned over to La Frontera Center, a mental health organization that works primarily within the Tucson Hispanic community, in its second year. Today, the Festival functions as a fundraiser for the Center, has a total budget of $500,000, a year round staff and 450 community volunteers to help out and includes such adjunct activities as a parade and a golf tournament. The main concert draws 6,000 spectators, the Fiesta de Garibaldi up to 55,000 and the workshops attract more than 900 participants from 26 states. The Tucson conference was the launching point for Linda Ronstadt's landmark career as a *ranchera*, which brought mariachi music to a vast, new audience, including many non-Mexicans.

As a profit making commercial enterprise, Mariachi USA holds a unique position in the mariachi festival and conference movement. It began in 1990 as an extended concert at the Hollywood Bowl and during the past two years, it has expanded to two days and now draws 30,000 spectators and operates with a budget of $500,000. There are no workshops tied to Mariachi USA, but the Rodri Foundation, established with proceeds from the event, has given grants to schools and community organizations involved in mariachi education. The grand scale of Mariachi USA is, in part, a reflection of the massive Mexican American population base in southern California. Southern California has been the home of outstanding mariachi groups since the late 1950s as well as a center for school and community mariachi programs.

On a smaller scale, the Festival del Mariachi de Alta California, Salinas, California took place annually from 1991 to 1994, was suspended in 1995 but is projected to reemerge in 1996. The principal organizer, William Faulkner, is an educator and leader of a local mariachi group and he has made the Alta California festival the gathering spot for some of the most important figures of the mariachi world. At the 1993 festival, the Alta California Festival brought together all of the living musicians who participated in Mariachi Vargas' landmark 1956 recording "El Mejor Mariachi del Mundo," considered by many to be the finest recording of mariachi music ever made.

Similarly, the Mariachi Espectacular in Albuquerque is the only festival associated with a university. It combines aspects of large scale festivals like Tucson with the dominant educational values of Alta California. Classes extend over three full days, followed by two days of concerts, a

Keepers of the Treasures

The National Park Service gathered with representatives of more than 60 tribes at a cultural conference on the Oklahoma Osage Reservation in December 1991 to determine funding needs for cultural preservation on tribal lands. Since that time, Keepers of the Treasures, a coalition of tribal representatives and federal agencies has continued to gather annually to discuss issues and strategies for the preservation of the living traditions of American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians. As a result, federal funding is now available for tribal cultural heritage programs, and projects such as oral history documentation, language retention, archival training, and cultural resources surveys.

Funding, for instance, will enable Maine Penobscots to produce a 30-minute videotape and user's guide about their physical and spiritual connection with the Penobscot River. The film will educate both tribal members and the general public about the effects of pollution and development on that relationship. Alaska natives published seven sets of reading textbooks for elementary school students based on traditional stories of Elders from the Bering Strait region. Since 1990, approximately

$5.3 million has been awarded in individual grants ranging from $5,000 to $50,000 to federally recognized American Indian tribes, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians for cultural heritage projects and programs.

For information on the Keepers of the Treasures—Cultural Council of American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, write to:

Mary Stuart McCamy
Keepers of the Treasures,
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

For information concerning grants, workshops, and publications:

David Banks or Ronnie Emery
Tribal Heritage Program
National Park Service,
Interagency Resources Division, P.O. Box 37127
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

Garibaldi event and a performance of the Mariachi Mass. Workshop instructors are handpicked from throughout the United States and Mexico and are chosen for their skill as performers and teachers. Mariachi history is given extra emphasis and a mariachi Hall of Fame has been established to honor great figures of the tradition.

Conclusion

Mariachi conferences and festivals have provided unprecedented opportunities for young performers to study with outstanding mariachi musicians, establishing continuity with the roots of the tradition and a forum for the exploration and expression of cultural identity. They have also created new venues for the music, reaching tens of thousands of new listeners from a variety of backgrounds. They have brought groups established and operating in the United States back into contact with the finest ensembles from Mexico, the most salient example being the Primer Encuentro del Mariachi, Mexico's first mariachi conference held in Guadalajara in 1994. The mariachi conference movement has also helped generate a healthy discussion about the musical direction of the tradition. The rivalry between ensembles on the festival circuit has been a major stimulus for musical achievement and higher standards, both at the professional and student level.

Regardless of what direction the mariachi movement takes in the future, it is now firmly rooted in the southwestern United States. With modest financial support from such organizations as the NEA and state arts councils, the movement has grown with amazing speed. Public support has, in fact, been more important as a source of legitimacy for grassroots activities than as a source of dollars. Official recognition in the form of small grants has given festival organizers the credibility needed to leverage existing resources in a new and productive way. In the mariachi festival, educators work with professional musicians; church, school and community leaders with business people; and students with artists. The end result is that Mexicans, Mexican Americans and Anglos on both sides of the border share and enjoy a rich musical tradition… a tradition which, despite its symbolic importance, had begun to lose its luster in Mexico. Indeed, the mariachi festival movement is a true success story in which the whole is vastly greater than the sum of its parts.

[redacted]

INVESTING IN THE FUTURE OF TRADITION: STATE APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

BY SUSAN AUERBACH

> "PEOPLE THAT ARE DYING [ELDERS], AND THEIR CULTURE IS DYING—THEY'RE THANKFUL TO SEE EVEN ONE PERSON COMING OUT TO KEEP OUR TRADITIONS ALIVE. I COULD BE WORKING AS A SECRETARY BUT I'M CHOOSING TO DO THIS. THAT'S WHERE MY HEART IS, IN TANNING A HIDE, DOING BEADWORK. THERE'S SOMEONE LIKE ME THAT HAS THE CURIOSITY AND WANTS TO LEARN. I'D LIKE TO SEE PROJECTS LIKE THIS EXPANDED, NOT CUT BACK."
>
> [illegible]
> master beadworker, [illegible]
> North Dakota Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program

When North Dakota Traditional Arts Coordinator Troyd Geist called Peggy Langley to suggest that she apply for an apprenticeship in saddlemaking, the self-taught ranch wife thought it was a joke. She had been trying to get advice from "old cowboys" for years without success. After studying with Rex Cook, "I learned that I was doing everything right; I just needed more finesse and some shortcuts to make the work easier," Langley says. She found the skills and confidence to open her own saddlery and now has more orders than she can handle, as well as her own apprentice. Langley and Cook are among artists across the country who have taken part in more than 2,600 apprenticeships sponsored by state folk arts programs over the past twelve years.[1] Apprenticeships bring together a master traditional artist with an eager learner for several months of intensive instruction. The team plans a joint project and receives a grant of $1,000-3,000 (on average) to pay for travel, supplies and teaching time. The experience allows seasoned artists like Louisiana basketmaker Azzie Roland to "keep on keeping on" with their craft and "leave it in somebody's hands." It gives apprentices like Maine Indian basketmaker Rocky Keezer the "little nudge" they need to stay committed to the tradition. As such, apprenticeship programs represent an investment in the future of folk arts.

Although the National Endowment for the Arts Folk & Traditional Arts Program made grants for individual apprenticeships starting in 1978 and three states established their own programs in the early 1980s, it was an NEA pilot program in 1983 in Florida, Mississippi and New York that spurred the growth of apprenticeship programs around the country. Funding spread to fifteen states in 1985 and thirty in 1991 as part of the overall development of state folk arts programs. Coordinators were quick to adapt the apprenticeship concept to the needs of their states or territories with user-friendly application forms, targeted recruiting and special eligibility criteria. Each program generally awards a total of $10-30,000 per year to five-fifteen teams.

Today, 84% of coordinators surveyed in 38 active programs consider apprenticeships the foundation of their folk arts program or among their three most important projects. "Apprenticeships are by far our most successful and direct way of supporting traditional artists," reports Kathleen Mundell of the Maine Arts Commission. Besides being paid for teaching, artists benefit from increased recognition and opportunities to present and sell their work.

From their inception, folk arts apprenticeship programs have involved a remarkable diversity of art forms, people, and geographic regions. Traditions covered range from Hispanic *santos* carving in Colorado to African American

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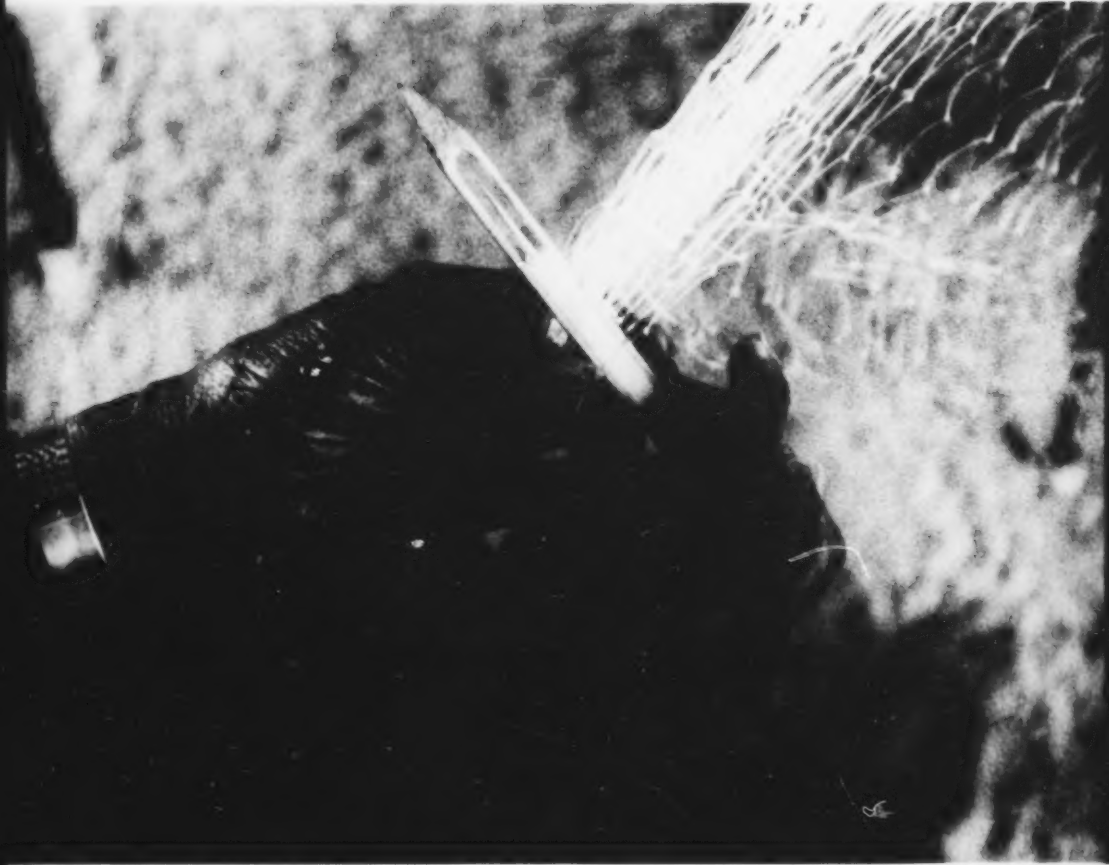


WILLIAM KA'AWALOA/HAWAIIAN NET MAKING.
(PHOTO BY LYNN MARTIN)

FOLKPATTERNS

FOLKPATTERNS is a joint project of the Michigan State University Museum and the Michigan 4-H Youth Programs involving more than 4,000 youth statewide who work on projects through their clubs and school enrichment programs. Youth share their projects by making presentations and exhibits and learn to use technical equipment such as tape recorders, cameras, and video cameras and sharpen their communications skills. A 4-H group from Gratiot County created a marionette show and performed Czechoslovakian folk tales at nursing homes. A 4-H youth in Montcalm County documents old barns and displays photographs at county fairs, conferences and folk festivals. In Ionia County, a 4-H Folk Festival includes performances and demonstrations by local artists and tradition bearers, bringing together the diverse ethnic populations of the county. Recently, a workshop was held in Michigan's Thumb area on the topic of maritime folk traditions. "With an emphasis on field-research techniques," says LuAnne Kozma, director of the **FOLKPATTERNS** program, "this workshop involved participants in interviews with local maritime tradition bearers. This gave them hands-on experience with interviewing folk artists so they can go back to their own communities and help 4-Hers discover their own traditions." For more information about **FOLKPATTERNS**, contact LuAnne Kozma, **FOLKPATTERNS**, Michigan Traditional Arts Program, Michigan State University Museum, East Lansing, MI 48824, (517) [illegible]

> "MY GRANDMOTHER TAUGHT ME TO READ, SHE SENT ME ON MY ACADEMIC ROUTE, BUT SHE ALSO TAUGHT ME TO QUILT AND THAT PART OF MY PAST HAS BEEN LEFT HANGING, UNTIL NOW. IT HAS NOW COME FULL CIRCLE. THE TRANSMISSION IS COMPLETE. MY GRANDMOTHER HAS PASSED DOWN OUR CULTURE. AT LEAST WITH ME, THIS CRAFT WON'T DIE."

quilting in Mississippi and from Franco American fiddling in New Hampshire to Hmong wedding songs in Oregon, with crafts dominating the list (63%). A majority of apprenticeships have gone to people of color, with American Indians (20%), Alaska Natives (7%), and Asian-Americans/Pacific Islanders (15%) especially well-represented.

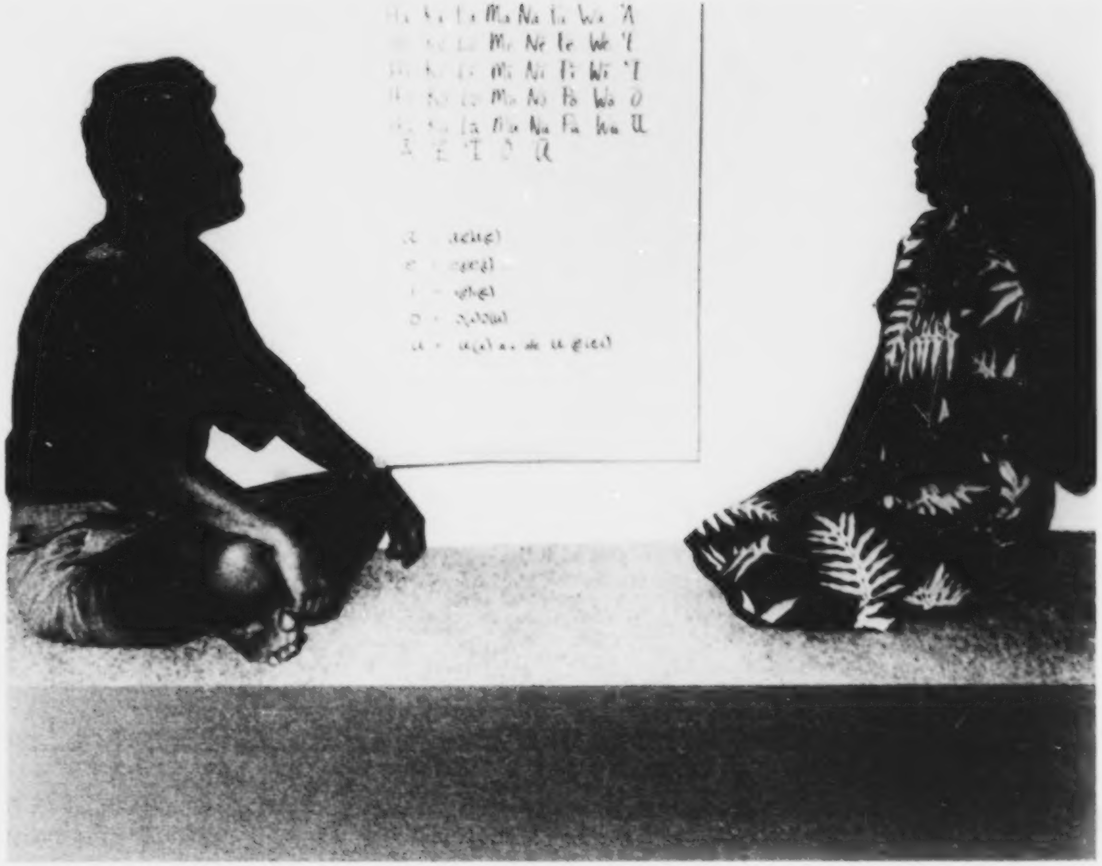
Apprenticeships have proven as adaptable to rural Alabama and Oklahoma reservations as to inner-city Detroit and suburban California. Teams are widely dispersed across and within U.S. states and territories. Such grants to individuals are often a state arts council's most effective form of outreach to underserved regions.

Apprenticeships involve the cooperation of many kinds of people and organizations. Tribal offices, refugee agencies, churches, and senior centers help recruit participants. Artists, cultural specialists, and community representatives serve on selection panels. Museums host exhibits of artists' work, state officials hand out awards and local media profile teams in 'good news' stories.

A Model Program

Why have apprenticeship programs become a flagship program for the support of folk arts? First, the concept of intergenerational teaching and learning has strong appeal to the public as well as artists and ethnic communities. Policy makers appreciate the diversity built into the cost-effective programs, while folklorists value apprenticeships as key tools in cultural conservation. In addition, programs have evolved guidelines and procedures that are responsive to local needs and conditions at hand. Most, for example, allow out-of-state masters where traditions extend across borders and take care to respect local protocol. Other factors in the success of apprenticeship programs over the years are consistent NEA support; relative low cost; outreach based on fieldwork and personal contact; the engagement of community leaders such as tribal officers; and a stress on conveying cultural values and knowledge as well as technical skills.

The impact of apprenticeship programs reverberates well beyond the artist team and the official grant period. Artists often continue working together, some becoming colleagues. A number of apprentices go on to become professional glassblowers or teachers of beadwork in their own right. Masters receive more honors, such as National Heritage Fellowships and invitations to national festivals or international exhibits. Folk arts programs create spin-off projects involving participants, such as media projects and performances. Communities gain well-trained practitioners, articulate spokespersons, and new organizations like the Maine Indian Basketmakers Alliance. Perhaps most importantly, languishing arts forms that might otherwise die with their last practitioner gain a new lease on life.



Kalena Silva (left) and Lehua Matsuoka/Mele Uli-Hawaiian chant.
(Photo by Lynn Martin)

The Hawai'i Program

On the Big Island of Hawai'i, the apprenticeship program has spawned a renaissance in *lauhala* weaving and a waiting list of hopeful apprentices. Masters like 73-year-old Minnie Ka'awaloa guide them through the arduous process of finding, harvesting, and preparing pandanus leaves before showing them how to weave fans and hats, telling stories all the while. "Aunt Minnie has taken us under her wing with the culture, the language, the spirit," says Noelani Ng, an apprentice who is now president of the local traditional crafts club.

Lauhala weaving, traditional chant, slack key guitar and other native Hawaiian art forms comprise 80% of the 106 apprenticeships awarded by the State Foundation for Culture and the Arts since 1985. "It's become a real status thing to be part of the apprenticeship program" in strong Native Hawaiian communities like the island of Ni'ihau, according to panel member Nathan Napoka. "People took the master artists for granted before; now they look up to them. It's done wonders for their spirit."

Like apprenticeship programs elsewhere, the Hawai'i program has become more ethnically diverse over time, embracing a variety of Asian traditions. It gave artists who had undergone long formal apprenticeships in Asia the courage to teach complex arts such as Japanese *mingei* pottery and Okinawan *kumi udui* dance theater. In Honolulu, the program helped a Cantonese opera group to train new members and mount their first fully staged production, while in Waianae, it provided more weavers for a Laotian refugee cooperative.

One of the program's hallmarks under coordinator Lynn Martin is its use of travel vouchers to promote exchange between artists from different islands. Apprentice Lehua Matsuoka, for instance, makes the trip from Oahu to the Big Island to study *oli* (traditional Hawaiian chant) with Kalena Silva. She finds the all-day session "intense" with its focus on Hawaiian language and attaining the proper vocal quality. But she perseveres, having heard from a previous apprentice that after the experience, "I will sound different, chant different and feel different."

The Missouri Program

One of the country's oldest apprenticeship programs, Missouri has sponsored nearly 200 teams since 1984. It has expanded from an original focus on rural, European American fiddling to a wide spectrum of genres and ethnicities. Coordinator Dana Everts-Boehm seeks to constantly extend the program's reach with regional fieldwork, guidelines that give priority to new artists and close links to the Missouri Performing Traditions touring program. Even with most of her time going into the apprenticeship program, she laments, "you can never do enough."

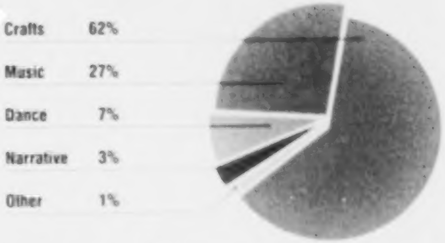
Here as elsewhere, the program has been a powerful motivator for artists to set aside the time to work together and undertake ambitious projects – sometimes revitalizing traditions in the process. In the Ozarks, for instance, high school teacher Steve Cookson had to be persistent to convince busy third-generation wooden johnboat builder Cecil Murray to take him on, but it soon became Cookson's job to keep up with Murray's zeal. The apprenticeship allowed them to create better boats along with strong bonds of friendship. "I'll always be coming back to help Cecil build boats, or if I can't find another reason, just to pester him," says Cookson.

In St. Louis, Richard Martin, Jr. has trained about twenty apprentices in African American tap and jazz dance since 1987. Martin, who grew up dancing on street corners, immerses his most promising students in the tradition of the art and great artists who have come before them. "They got to know not only the technique, but also the mentality," he says. "They got to know who they are." By challenging them to do more, Martin prepares his proteges to take off on their own. At the same time, his work in the program has brought Martin long-overdue public exposure and acclaim.

Across town, students at St. Louis Irish Arts compete for the honor of becoming apprentices in music or dance. "When you're doing an apprenticeship, you really put your best behind it because they [the apprentices] are going to

Apprenticeship Program

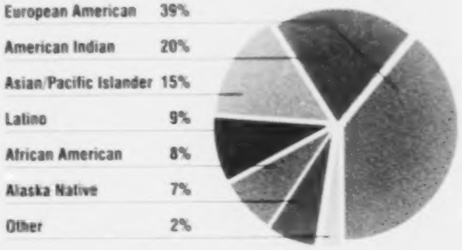
Genres Funded through April 1995



Note: 2,421 out of total 2,554 apprenticeships funded due to incomplete reporting by respondents.

Apprenticeship Programs

Ethnic Breakdown by Master Artist



Apprenticeship Programs at a Glance*

Total number of state programs as of 1995: [illegible]

Total number of apprenticeships funded nationwide through mid-1995: [illegible]

Range of total award amount per apprenticeship: [illegible]

Total length of apprenticeship: [illegible] months–1 year

Most effective form of program publicity: personal contact, [illegible]

Percentage of programs supported by NEA plus state funds: [illegible]

Percentage of programs supported by state, local or private funds: [illegible]

Ozark paddlemaker Ernest "Uncle Punk" Murray shows apprentice Steve Cookson how to shape a sassafras johnboat paddle, Doniphan, 1995. (Photo by Dana Everts-Boehm)

What's in a Name?
Apprenticeships, Artists' Residencies, Mentoring Programs

Sometimes a name simply indicates the vantage point from which you speak. Take the three terms above. All of them refer to similar processes—that is, learning "the tricks of the trade" through first-hand observation and practice—with different images. In the arts world, apprenticeship is a term used primarily in the folk arts field and tends to describe one-on-one teaching and learning in informal settings between an experienced hand and less seasoned junior. With a nod to its roots in medieval crafts guilds, apprenticeship implies a lengthy, time-tested learning process in which accuracy and fidelity to cultural tradition are emphasized. An artist residency is a familiar format for teaching, creating and learning in many disciplines, particularly in the performing arts. Although the term "residency" conjures up the intimacy of home, most residencies usually occur in more formal settings—schools, theaters, and the like—and often involve intensive training or learning in group situations for briefer periods of time. The notion of mentoring—giving and receiving sage advice and counsel—is flexible enough to allow for a range of adaptation and uses and is increasingly being used as an umbrella term for a range of artist and organizational technical assistance programs.

Master Jazz Tap Dancer Richard Martin, Jr. guides his apprentice, Alan McLead, St. Louis, Missouri, 1989. (Photo by Patrick Janson, TAAP)

National Task Force on Folk Arts in Education

The National Task Force on Folk Arts in Education grew out of the 1993 "Folk Arts in the Classroom: A National Roundtable on Folk Arts in Education," co-sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts Folk & Traditional Arts Program and City Lore. At the table were folklorists, teachers, school administrators, traditional artists, and representatives from national education organizations including Foxfire, Getty Center for Education in the Arts, Music Educators National Conference, and multicultural education programs at Bank Street College of Education, Teachers College at Columbia University, and the University of Washington. Today, the Task Force supports folklorists and folk artists involved in education efforts throughout the country, advocates for the inclusion of folk arts and traditional culture in K-12 education, participates in regional and national meetings on arts and education, and serves as a clearinghouse for information on teacher institutes, resources, and curricula standards.

For more information, contact Paddy Bowman,
609 Johnston Place, Alexandria, VA 22301-2511,
(703)-836-7499.

Other National Resources for Folk Arts in Education:

American Folklife Center, Library Of Congress,
Washington, D.C. 20540, (202) 707-6590. Contact
the Center for a copy of A Teacher's Guide to Folklife
Resources for K-12 Classrooms, which lists good
materials and state programs.

Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560,
(202) 287-3424.

City Lore, 72 E. First St., New York, NY 10003,
(212) 529-1955. This organization is a particularly
great source for educators' materials with their new
Culture Catolog.

The Fund for Folk Culture, P.O. Box 1566, Santa Fe,
NM 87504, (505) 984-2534.

be the role models for the others," notes master musician Patrick Gannon. As a result of the Gannon family's work and the program's support, there is a steady supply of fiddlers and accordion players for *ceili* dances.

Issues for the Future

In 1995, 86% of apprenticeship programs were still heavily dependent on the NEA for ongoing support. As competition grows for shrinking funding sources, programs will need to solicit more state and local support and forge public/private partnerships. There are precedents for a variety of innovative administrative collaborations and funding arrangements. In Colorado, three regional apprenticeship coordinators based in colleges and museums run the program as a team. The Texas program operates within a nonprofit organization, and the New Hampshire program has developed a partnership on "outdoor arts" recruitment and promotion with the state Department of Fish and Game. Perhaps more foundations, historical societies, and ethnic organizations could endow apprenticeships, as the Hawaii Academy of Recording Arts has done, and arrange public presentations in return.

Apprenticeship programs are one of the clear success stories in the field of folk arts. Coordinators agree that the benefits are many, the award amounts adequate, and the abuses or failures very rare. A recent NEA report on twelve years of apprenticeship programs shows that the longer a program is in place, the stronger its impact on artists, communities, and cultural conservation. Programs that promise—and deliver—so much for so little deserve everyone's support.

CREATING, CHANGING, RENEWING

> "WITHOUT TRADITION,
> THERE IS NO CREATION.
> WITHOUT CREATION,
> YOU CANNOT MAINTAIN
> A TRADITION."[1]
>
> Carlos Fuentes, novelist

Folk arts are often depicted as the static, quaint, nostalgic skills and yearnings of earlier times; folk artists as anonymous, faceless individuals blindly carrying on the traditions of their culture. Words like creativity, charisma and cultural activism are rarely associated with traditional art or artists. The following two profiles by David Roche and Buck Ramsey, however, contradict these cliched notions and examine very specifically the impact of particular individuals in relation to cultural traditions, events and historical circumstance. In each one, creativity, change and renewal occur on many levels. Not only do artistic traditions change in terms of form, but so also do their functions, meaning, and audiences.

In David Roche's article, the efforts of two extraordinary artists involved in cultural revitalization movements within their communities are described. For Filipino kulintang master Danongan Kalanduyan, revitalization has primarily involved teaching and increasing the level of practice of a tradition and Kalanduyan has helped to foster more kulintang ensembles in the U.S. than perhaps any other individual. For Sam-Ang Sam, revitalization has meant identifying the most strategic partnerships and opportunities at the local and national level to recover traditions nearly obliterated by war. In different ways, however, both are confronting the adaptation and innovation which necessarily occurs when "old world" traditions enter "new world" contexts and both are attempting to strike a delicate balance between maintaining fidelity to tradition and making it meaningful in a new context.

While Kalanduyan and Sam are involved in managing or influencing cultural changes somewhat beyond their control, the Cowboy Poetry Gathering has been an active agent for cultural change and revitalization. Its success is more than a "right time, right place" kind of story. Viewed as a singular event or a particular moment in time, the Gathering has played a catalytic role in the development of an artistic tradition. It has introduced cowboy poetry to new and broad audiences and it has influenced numerous individual artists. Most importantly, it has provided a forum for people in the ranching community to tell their stories in their own voices. As Buck Ramsey's piece demonstrates, the Cowboy Poetry Gathering did not create an audience—it gave voice and opportunity to an already existing sensibility and community. Ramsey's piece speaks to the depth and power of that sentiment and its impact.

In terms of impact, the Cowboy Poetry Gathering is one of the more improbable success stories of the National Endowment for the Arts. Since the first Gathering in 1985, there are now 150-200 cowboy poetry gatherings small and large throughout the West. Much like the Gathering itself, NEA funding played a catalytic role in the initial development of the event.

Eighth-generation potter Dorothy Cole Auman (1925-1991) working on a pot at Seagrove Pottery, Seagrove, North Carolina. She and her husband Walter Auman were 1989 recipients of the North Carolina Folk Heritage Award. (Photo by Rob Amberg © 1996)

A final and important observation about the two articles. Both focus on the creative roles of individuals in cultural change and renewal but both articles also allude to the critical interplay of influence and change which occurs from within and outside of a community. And this interplay can be positive and negative. For Dewey Balfa, a last-minute invitation to the Newport Folk Festival helped spark a pride and desire to advocate for the value of his cultural heritage at home and elsewhere. As an event initiated by an "outside" organization, the Western Folklife Center's Cowboy Poetry Gathering is now an accepted part of the ranching community's festive calendar and it's documentation efforts are preserving ranching cultural heritage for generations to come. The partnerships that Sam-Ang Sam and other Cambodian artists are establishing with federal agencies, arts organizations like Jacob's Pillow and private and public funders are critical steps in the revitalization of their cultural heritage.

> "PEOPLE DO NOT CLING TO THEIR CULTURES SIMPLY TO USE THEM AS INTER-ETHNIC STRATEGIES. THEY DO SO BECAUSE IT IS THROUGH THEM THAT THEY MAKE SENSE OF THE WORLD AND HAVE A SENSE OF THEMSELVES. THE ATTACHMENT OF PEOPLE TO THEIR CULTURE CORRESPONDS, THEN, TO A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN NEED."

BRAVE NEW WORLDS: MINDANAOAN KULINTANG MUSIC AND CAMBODIAN CLASSICAL DANCE IN AMERICA

BY DAVID ROCHE

From Cambodia's Royal Palace in Phnom Penh and the villages and sultanates of Mindanao in the Philippines to the small towns and urban streets of America, Cambodian classical dance and Filipino kulintang music have undergone a surprising odyssey over the past two decades. Each tradition has its own story to tell, but both chronicle cultural survival at the margins of the American mainstream and tell us about the collision of old ways and new worlds. This dynamic of survival also suggests how people find ways to invest new meaning in cultural heritage and how heritage, however manifested, remains an important and necessary component of self and community identity. Most of all, Cambodian classical dance and Filipino kulintang music remind us that cultural survival and renewal are nurtured both through individual desire and creativity as well as by collective action over time.

Two individuals centrally involved in the cultural survival of Cambodian and Mindanaoan performing arts now reside in the United States. Sam-Ang Sam, Executive Director of the Cambodian Network Council, based in Washington, D.C., has been the main link between traditional classically-trained performance artists in Cambodia and artists in the Cambodian American community and is himself a highly-regarded musician and ethnomusicologist.[3] Danongan Kalanduyan, Director of the Palabuniyan Kulintang Ensemble, based in San Francisco, not only trains Filipino Americans in the art of kulintang music, but performs internationally and, like Sam, is an ethnomusicologist by training.[4] Sam and Kalanduyan are both exemplars of enlightened cultural leadership. Both have grappled with issues of cultural appropriation, debates over multiculturalism, inherited social hierarchies of class and gender and the distance between old and new world realities. Both have managed to not only survive, but succeed without compromising the essence of their respective traditional arts.

Cambodian Classical Dance

The history of Khmer classical dance tradition dates back more than one thousand years *(see page 37)*. In traditional Khmer historical chronicles, the god-king reigned as the chief patron of the dance, immersing himself in the rarefied atmosphere of prophetic ritual while constantly surrounded by his corps de ballet, the *apsara* (angelic) dancers. Vestiges of belief in the spiritual power of dance as national polity continued until the time of Prince Sihanouk's fall in 1970. As late as 1967, royal Khmer classical dancers performed at the Prince's behest to influence the rains during a devastating drought.

The shattering experience of April, 1975, when the capitol of Cambodia—Phnom Penh—was overtaken by troops

Cambodian dance master Chea Samy (standing) positioning students during a residency at Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, 1993. (Photo by Cecily Cook)

of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge leading to the subsequent evacuation and deaths of an estimated one million Cambodians (approximately 15% of the total population), put a very different political spin on the practice of royalist court art. But even with the changed political landscape and its populist rhetoric, the image of the classical dancer continued as a preeminent symbol of Khmer greatness. It was in Thai refugee camps like Khao I Dang, by 1980 one of the largest Cambodian cities in the world, that court arts such as Khmer dance (and accompanying *pin peat* orchestral music) were reconstructed by and for a populace whose previous exposure to such refined traditions was circumscribed by class. While approximately 80% of the faculty at the national conservatory, the University of Fine Arts, perished during the Khmer Rouge purge, it was at the camps that those few who survived began to teach again. Khmer classical dance was forever changed by the refugee experience. In the words of Sam-Ang Sam, the elite art of the court became transformed into common property that helped preserve ethnic and cultural identity. In America, wherever Cambodian refugees have settled, "Court dance and music have actually become a popular art now. Refugees in every community perform it. It has become an art of the people."

Sam-Ang Sam's mentor during the pre-Pol Pot era at the University of Fine Arts, Chheng Phon, became Minister of Information and Culture under the post-1979, Vietnamese-

The Cambodian Artists Project

Rebuilding a nation and a cultural heritage takes time and perseverance. One remarkable example of this is the Cambodian Artists Project, a coalition of Cambodian American artists and scholars (including Sam-Ang Sam) dedicated to the conservation and perpetuation of Cambodian performing arts through teaching, research, video, recording, cultural exchange and public programs. This project was initiated in 1990 by the Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival with seed funding from the Ford Foundation, NEA Folk Arts, and the New England Foundation for the Arts and has grown to include a loose-knit network of organizations and supporters committed to this ideal, including the Cambodian Network Council, Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh, the Ministry of Culture in Cambodia, Cornell University, the Rockefeller Foundation, Asian Cultural Council, United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Albert Kunstadter Family Foundation and a generous grant from the National Initiative to Preserve American Dance. Such long-range vision and multi-year funding has made possible repeated artistic exchange opportunities between the U.S. and Cambodia, extended artist residencies with Cambodian master artists in multiple U.S. sites, video documentation of dance repertoire and extended interviews with surviving master artists, and opportunities for dancers, teachers and university administrators to assess preservation methods and dance facilities in the U.S. Future efforts will involve distribution of archival materials, and establishing an archive and training archivists in Cambodia. For more information, contact the Cambodian Network Council, 713 D St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Sam Ang Sam playing the **sralai** (oboe). (Photo by Evan Sheppard)

The Difference between
[illegible] Cambodian

backed Cambodian regime. He was the principal cultural architect who eventually brought together a dance faculty and reopened the University of Fine Arts in 1981 to a new generation of dance students. Chheng Phon defended his efforts to rebuild the classical dance tradition by appealing to a sense of pride in a Cambodian "national aesthetic." "The aesthetic is the people's," Chheng remarked. " Artists created the classical dance. The king didn't create it. We must preserve the national aesthetic. We must respect the creations of the artists of the past."

This articulation of a national artistic direction inspired Sam-Ang Sam and other former students. In America, where Sam-Ang Sam, with his wife, the dancer Chan Moly Sam, had immigrated in 1977, he set sail on his life's work, the re-establishment of Khmer performing arts as the soul of Cambodian and Cambodian American cultures. With a Ph.D. in ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University in hand, Sam-Ang has been the chief spokesperson for Khmer classical performing arts in the United States. In 1994, a MacArthur Fellowship was awarded to him in recognition of his importance in this reconstructive effort.

Since the late 1970s, Cambodian refugees have arrived in great numbers in places like Lowell, Massachusetts; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Stockton and Long Beach, California. In these and other Cambodian American communities across the country, Khmer classical dance continues to represent a central cultural activity for teenage girls, while other uniquely Cambodian arts are intertwined with wedding, funeral and Buddhist temple activities. For Sam-Ang Sam and many other Cambodian American artists, concern for the survival of Khmer classical dance now focuses on strategies of innovation. Dilution in the quality and staging of classically choreographed repertoire poses a real threat. There is concern that the dance will be reduced to a rite-of-passage for middle-class teenage girls, a chance to wear expensive jewelry and dance costumes, rather than flourish as an expression of spiritual significance. Yet, Khmer classical dance has its roots, however tenuously, still planted in Cambodia. With continued exchanges between the old world and the new, a contemporary global aesthetic for Cambodian dance is in the process of being created.

Kulintang Culture

The passage of Public Law 89-236 in 1965, eliminating a highly restrictive immigration quota system, set the stage for a massive Filipino immigrant influx in the decades which followed. While most immigrants of the 1920s and 30s found jobs as laborers, cutting cane and pineapples on Hawai'i and harvesting grapes and asparagus in California, Filipino immigrants today are generally well-educated men and women working in professional and service occupations. Like their predecessors, they remain predominantly Christian by religious heritage and ethnically Ilokano, Cebuano and Tagalog-speaking. This pattern of Filipino immigration to the U.S suggests that traditions from the lowlands of the northerly Christianized Philippine Islands would be more culturally significant for contemporary Filipino Americans. But Muslim Filipino Americans from the southern islands of the Philippines, an overwhelming minority in the immigrant population, have somehow become central to the creation of cultural identity here for a growing number of young Filipino Americans, the self-proclaimed "most invisible Asian American minority." How did this come about?

When Robert Garfias, then Professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of Washington, brought Usopay Cadar and then Danongan Sibay Kalanduyan to the university to teach kulintang music and matriculate in the Music Department, he inadvertently set in motion a social process with complex dimensions. While Cadar's achievements as an ethnomusicologist and performer have informed a wide audience over the years, Kalanduyan's background as a kulintang musician and revered teacher of the tradition resulted in his selection as a 1995 NEA National Heritage Award Fellow.

Following his tenure in Seattle, Kalanduyan relocated to the San Francisco Bay area in 1985 and began working with community-based Filipino American cultural groups as workshop leader and, in some instances, as artistic director. Such groups in the Bay area have included Kulintang Arts, Kalilang Kulintang Ensemble, the Pilipino Kulintang Center, Filipiniana Dance Troupe, and his latest ensemble, the Palabuniyan Kulintang Ensemble. He has also worked with the World Kulintang Institute in Los Angeles, Samahan Philippine Dance company in San Diego, and Amauan Filipino-American Multi-Arts Center, Siron Ganding, Inc. and Lotus Fine Arts in New York. Kalanduyan-led kulintang ensembles have performed for large audiences at the Northwest Folklife and Bumbershoot Arts Festivals, Oakland's Festival at the Lake, the 1990 L.A. Festival, the Kennedy Center, and scores of other venues on the West Coast, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan. In other words, Kalanduyan has been associated with nearly every Filipino American group performing kulintang in this country, at one time or another. Still, the question of kulintang's significance remains.

One answer comes from Daniel Giray, longtime associate and student of Kalanduyan's, who explains the dilemma faced by many Filipino Americans. Born in Hawai'i, he was brought up on the Mainland and raised to assimilate. "I would always answer that I was Filipino when asked, but what did that mean? I had no knowledge of my own history. Even my mother couldn't answer. So I grew up connecting

Filipino Americans in California

California is home to the largest Asian American population in the United States, estimated at 3,000,000 or 10% of the state's population in the 1990 Census. California is also home to the largest Filipino immigrant population (732,000 in the 1990 census). The Filipino American population is now the largest Asian American community in the state, barely overtaking the 1980 census leader, the Chinese American community.

1995 National Heritage Fellow Danongan Kalunduyan.
(Photo by John Bishop-Media Generation)

with Afro-Americans, Hispanics, other Asians looking for my own identity among the many." Then Giray heard Kalanduyan's kulintang gong-drum ensemble and his world changed. "I had never heard nor knew that this music form existed in the Philippines. I became very inspired by the strong rhythms and beautiful tones I was hearing for the first time. It also became apparent that this music instilled a pride in me that was lacking from my Filipino identity." For Giray and others of his generation, kulintang represents passage to deeper Malay roots. And this is where culture, ethnicity and authenticity sometimes generate friction.

Both Kalanduyan and Cadar have expressed grave concern over the politics of personal identity within Filipino American communities and among certain individuals who inappropriately claim ownership of the kulintang tradition without possessing either the cultural heritage or musical expertise. There are religious and historical factors to contend with as well, since kulintang has been nurtured among Muslim minority populations in the Philippines but among Christian majority populations in the United States. Contemporary pan-Filipinoism can cut two ways: in the case of Giray, a commitment to ongoing study and performance with Kalanduyan and Cadar as masters of the tradition; for others, appropriation of the name "kulintang" and a rush to performance for personal artistic goals. As Cadar reports,

Assessing the Needs of Traditional Artists

In 1991, the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund commissioned the Fund for Folk Culture to conduct a nationwide study to determine the needs of the field with respect to its disciplines, practitioners, organizations and resources.

The Folk Arts in America reports the study's findings. As part of the study, 170 performing and visual folk artists were sent surveys and 106 responded (an overall 62.4% response rate).* What did folk artists have to say?

- More than 85% of folk artists surveyed teach others their art—often without compensation—and a majority consider "identifying and motivating the next generation of artists" a priority.

- **90% of artists surveyed perform, exhibit, or sell their art in public and most would like to do more. Many feel that presentation opportunities outside of their immediate communities are necessary to the maintenance of tradition.**

- **6 out of 10 artists are in need of basic materials essential to the practice of their art: whale ivory, taqua beans, twine, eggs, swords, rehearsal space and power tools are a few of the items that indicate "the specialized nature of the field and the need for individualized attention."**

- **Many expressed a need for help with the "non-performance aspects of presentation" such as business, financial and legal matters.**

***Harder+Kibbe Research and Consulting of San Francisco conducted the data research and analysis for the Fund for Folk Culture. Copies of the study are available from the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund.**

DEWEY BALFA

(1927-1992)

In a time when schools in Louisiana punished children for speaking Louisiana French, Dewey Balfa and his brothers — Will, Burkeman, Harry and Rodney — grew up in a family full of Cajun music, culture and language. They played in dance halls in the 1940s, and after World War II, Dewey and Will (and later Rodney) performed as the Balfa Brothers and were well known throughout southern Louisiana. Then in 1964, Dewey was a last minute replacement at the Newport Folk Festival where, for the first time in his life, he played his music for an audience of tens of thousands. Inspired by the experience, he returned to Louisiana to organize traditional music concerts and other events as his part of a ground swell of activity to preserve Cajun music, language, and culture. The 1974 Tribute to Cajun Music Festival he helped start became an annual event. In recognition of his artistry and tireless cultural activism, Dewey received one of the first National Heritage Fellowships in 1982. He continued to play and speak eloquently on behalf of his culture until his death in 1992. His impact on Cajun music is immeasurable and his influence on a younger generation of musicians like Michael Doucet and Steve Riley is undeniable. Dewey once said: "My culture is no better than anyone else's, but it is mine. I would expect you to offer the same respect for my culture that I offer yours."

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> "THINGS HAVE TO CHANGE. WHEN THINGS STOP CHANGING, THEY DIE. CULTURE AND MUSIC HAVE TO BREATHE AND GROW, BUT THEY HAVE TO STAY WITHIN CERTAIN GUIDELINES TO BE TRUE, AND THOSE GUIDELINES ARE PURENESS AND SINCERITY."
>
> Dewey Balfa, musician
> National Heritage Fellow

"There is the constant dilemma that if one allows them to present the tradition in corrupted form they will perpetrate and perpetuate mistakes that will be virtually impossible to correct, but if one totally denies them any premature public presentation of the tradition, one denies the possibility of making inroads into the [Filipino American] community."

Conclusion

For both Cambodian and Filipino American communities, innovation within the traditional arts looms as a central theme. While no one proclaims that performing traditions must remain frozen in time, it is the manner in which innovations are accomplished and the sources for the innovations that mark appropriateness. In the case of kulintang music, there is the issue of improvisation: in traditional practice, mastery of the structural and stylistic conventions of the music must precede any experimentation. For Kalanduyan, the kind of mastery necessary to improvise is a birthright: "I learned kulintang music sitting on my mother's lap: she guided my hands. The music was all around me in the village: I didn't need training: it came through my environment."

Innovation in Cambodian classical dance is inevitable given the lack of well-trained classical teachers both in the United States and Cambodia and the changing social contexts. Two approaches to preserving repertoire can be found in Sam-Ang Sam's production of didactic video tapes of conservatory-trained dancers now residing in the United States for distribution to Cambodian American communities and through his efforts with the Cambodian Arts Project (*see page 36*). While there is no way to codify standards or certify who may teach what to whom, there remains a sense that clear artistic authority, exemplified by the artistic hierarchy of the old Palace conservatory system, remains a desirable goal. And while it is true that the cultural institutions of Phnom Penh are slowly rising from the ashes under new artistic leadership, the re-invention of Cambodian culture in America is largely in the hands of social service agencies, mutual assistance associations and motivated individuals with sporadic means of support at best. Traditional practice and innovation in both kulintang music and Cambodian classical dance in the United States will bear careful watching. That these two important art forms have survived and thrived to this point speaks to the tenacity of traditional art when it is true to social experience. With some of that experience now taking place in America, innovation can remain a meaningful process, if it is guided by knowledgeable teachers and performers recognized and respected by the community and educated in the canons of the tradition.

"WE WILL SPREAD OUT
OUR BLANKETS ON THE
GREEN, GRASSY GROUND
WHERE THE CATTLE AND
HORSES ARE A'GRAZIN'
ALL AROUND..."

Leaving Cheyenne

A REVIVAL MEETING AND ITS MISSIONARIES: THE COWBOY POETRY GATHERING

BY BUCK RAMSEY

In 1985 the National Endowment for the Arts provided seed money for a group whose purpose was to tap the sources of the cowboy oral tradition and determine to what extent the tradition was still alive. The first Elko Cowboy Poetry Gathering in late January of that year turned out to be something on the order of a revival meeting, an annual event that each year inspired more and more missionaries to spread the word of the tradition's revival and to create missions throughout the land. Few seeds have produced such progeny.

This is a brief story out of the American West illustrating how the NEA seed planted at Elko worked, how it is working. It is also a tale describing how chance encounters, all connected somehow to this yearly revival meeting, caused a cross-pollination of regional, ethnic and topical cultures that will bear fruit for generations. Multiply this story by many hundreds and you begin to get a picture of the bountiful crop of the seed. When you get an idea of the whole picture, you realize that the Elko gathering's reputation as the premier cultural event in the American West is a modest portion of what it is all about.

In the 1940s, on one of his sweeps through the cow country West uncovering cowboy songs from the dusty pasts of old cowboys, John Lomax stopped over in Dalhart, Texas, and recorded Jess Morris singing a rendition of "Leaving Cheyenne." Jess accompanied himself on the fiddle tuned to a drone tuning which gave the song a most haunting quality. In the distant past Jess was a cowhand on the legendary XIT Ranch, which at one time covered a strip about forty miles wide from the top of Texas stretching down the western side of its Panhandle and South Plains border for about two hundred miles. Jess Morris told Lomax he learned the song from a black cowboy he rode with on the XIT's.

Hal Cannon, one of the prime movers in getting the revival underway, since his college days in the early 1970s sang and played various instruments with a string band which sought out, performed and recorded traditional music of the West obscured by time. He considered an album of cowboy songs collected by John Lomax, including Jess Morris' "Leaving Cheyenne," to be the prime inspiration behind his wish to organize a gathering which would inspire a revival of cowboy song and poetry, a revival of American West oral traditions. Hal's favorite song on the album was "Leaving Cheyenne."

In 1970, Charles Gordone, a black playwright prominent in New York jazz circles and as a fixture at the famed Actor's Studio, won the Pulitzer Prize for his play, *No Place to be somebody*. After the play's run on Broadway and after the author's glow of celebrity dimmed, he experienced what Tennessee Williams called "the failure of success" and lost

THE AUDIENCE ENJOY THEMSELVES AT A RECENT COWBOY POETRY GATHERING. (PHOTO BY SUE ROSOFF) his way as a writer. He already had earned the reputation as a heavy drinker, but now he began drinking more heavily under the common delusion that alcohol might make him once again attractive to his muse. When he and Susan Kouyoumjian met in 1980 at a theater in San Francisco, he was a dried out alcoholic and a dried up writer. She asked him to join her in Berkeley, California, to direct a play she planned to produce for a "spit and paper" community theater. He stayed for two years to direct fourteen tragedies and one comedy, all by modern American playwrights.

Charles frequently discussed with his new companion his belief that the aspirations and happiness of black Americans would remain trampled and shattered as long as they continued to be caught up in urban chaos with its utter degradation of soul and psyche, that a people could not endure as a viable American tribe if they remained packed away in city ghettoes. He told a friend in the autumn of 1995, "The notion that black people are at their roots country people really raised hackles when I talked about it with my old friends in the civil rights movement. Now, as a Westerner, I believe the thwarted instinct of African Americans for a dignified involvement with nature is the biggest cause of their problems. Making them realize their heart's true habitation is not urban is a simple idea, radical in the true sense of the word, and seminal to everything I have become as a thinker and artist in the last decade of my life."

He and Susan moved back to Harlem where he worked on a play titled "Roan Brown and Cherry" which was set in the American West. Since his appearance on the New York theatrical scene in the early Fifties, he had been nicknamed "Tex" because of his affectation of Western garb. "With his writing he was playing out a fantasy stitched together with folk memories from childhood, family tales of western experiences," Susan said, "but he couldn't get it to ring with authenticity. We began spending all our spare time reading and communicating to find out what the West was all about and what it could have to do with us." Through her efforts, Charles in 1987 got a D. H. Lawrence Fellowship, and they set up residence outside of Taos, New Mexico. When the fellowship residency expired, Charles joined the faculty of Texas A&M University as professor of Theater and English. The new Texans began feeling around for an "authentic" connection with the West.

After seeing and reading media reports of the Elko gathering, the couple felt compelled to journey there in 1990. The gathering proper begins with a Thursday morning keynote address. There is, however, a "warm-up" show on Wednesday to get attendees in the spirit of the revival meeting. On that show a former cowboy, who in his youth worked on what used to be XIT Ranch country around Dalhart, recited a long poem about impressions brought to him by his years in the saddle. That was the first poem

Cowboy Poetry Gathering Fact Sheet

The Cowboy Poetry Gathering is held the last week in January every year in Elko, Nevada. The event roughly spans a week with pre-Gathering workshops and small performances earlier in the week. All day workshops and evening concerts are held at the Elko Convention Center during the Gathering and off-site readings, concerts, open-mike sessions and dances occur throughout the town. Approximately 8,000 people attend annually.

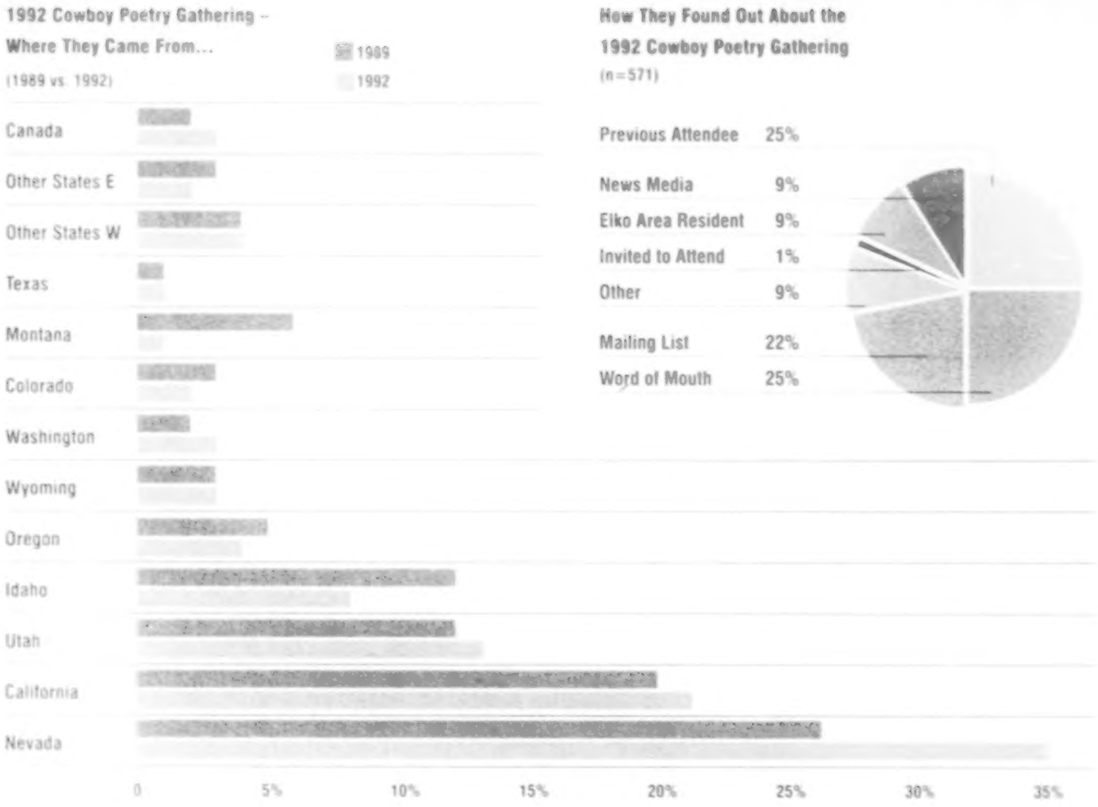
Initially, the Gathering was scheduled in January to accommodate a ranching audience (winter being the slowest work period). Ranching still constitutes the largest occupational group (28% in 1992) who attends but the Gathering has developed a broad base of support and draws from many sectors, states, and age groups.

As they say, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Since the first year of the Gathering in 1985, Cowboy Poetry Gatherings at the state and local level have established themselves throughout the West. Through 1995, annual state and local poetry gatherings were estimated at 150-200.

Seed money for the Cowboy Poetry Gathering initia ly came from the NEA Folk & Traditional Arts Progran In 1986, 90% of the Gathering's budget was from p iblic sources. By 1993, public funding represented only 20 of the Gathering's budget.

Based on the results of a 1992 survey, the Gatheri g s audience left in Elko $2.9 million the town would n t have otherwise had (of which $2.5 million came fr m out-of-state).

Poets Georgie Sikking and Richard Carlson comparing notes at a Gathering. (photo by S.R. Hinrichs)



Source: 1992 Cowboy Poetry Gathering *Audience and Business Report* (June 1992) p. 2. Prepared by Withers and Gray Project Management and Consultancy.

Susan and Charles heard at a cowboy poetry gathering, and she would later write, "[the] recitation… restored [our] love of American literature, which had been seriously eroded by the past decade of urban living."

Susan had convinced the A&M administration to attach her to Charles's curriculum as a recruiter of artists-in-residence to perform for his classes and round out his lectures. From the time they attended the Elko gathering, she spent virtually her entire budget integrating into Charles's curriculum poets and singers they met as a result of attending the gathering at Elko.

A professor who heard the Elko voices wrote: "These were native writers who had escaped the constrictions of the academies and had therefore developed an anti-establishment outlook. Their worldly experience and powerful imaginations allowed them to break out of the formalities that encased and constricted American literature. They are authentic American voices, natural storytellers who know how to fashion everyday experience into art without violating the source of their inspiration." Elko resurrected voices that gave back to the American West the gift of its tradition, and now a university professor was amplifying the voices far outside their traditional circles to listeners amazed at what they heard and eager to spread word of the revived tradition to others.

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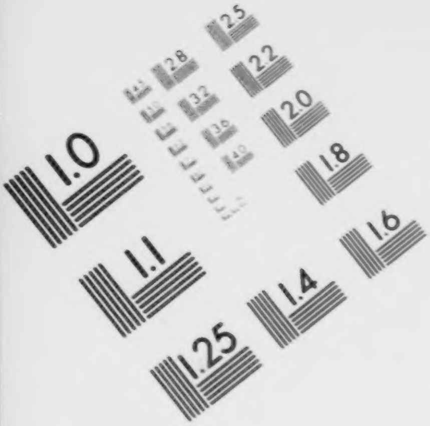
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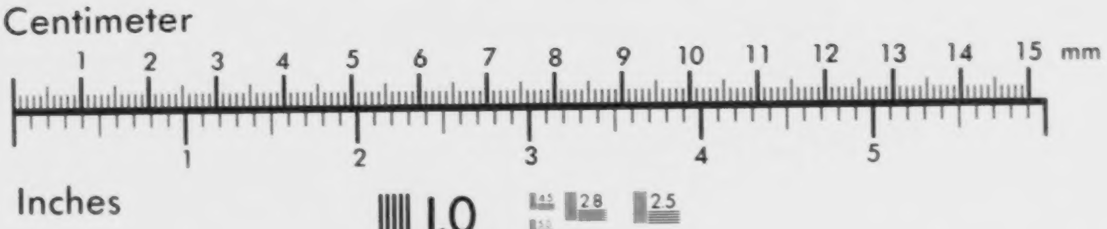
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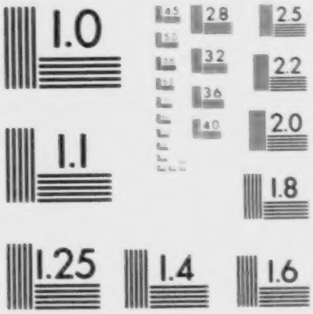
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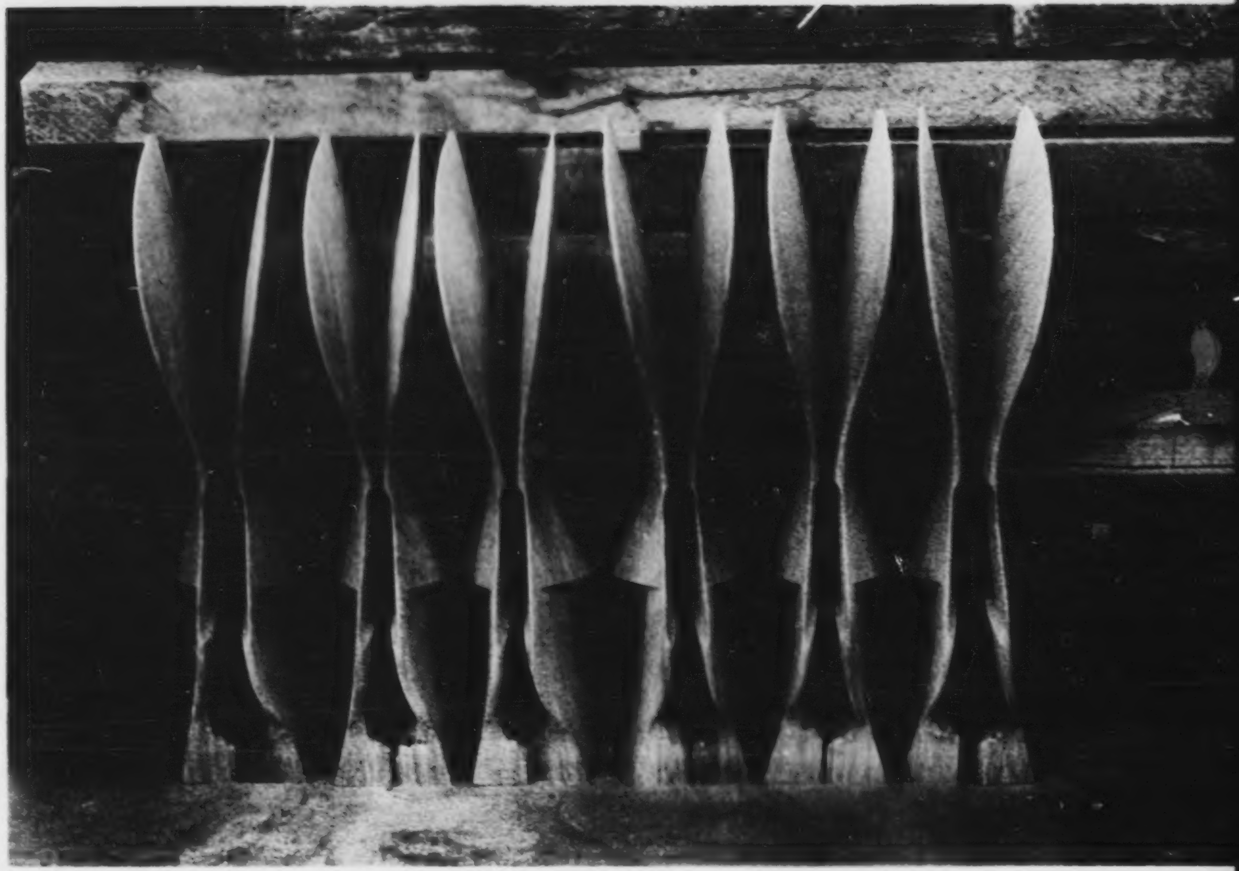
"All his adult life Charles envisioned an American theater of diversity united by a shared myth," Susan said. Now he talked again of a new and inclusive Theater of Americana, and he talked to Susan and his new friends as if he had discovered the "shared myth" in the rich diversity of the Elko voices. And he talked of perhaps finding a potential network of stagings for this new theater in the missionary outposts created by the Elko revival, in the hundreds of cowboy poetry gatherings growing from the scattered seed of the fruit of its tree.

One of the newer, smaller and most isolated of the cowboy poetry gatherings was organized in the fall of 1993 at Nara Visa, New Mexico. Nara Visa is an almost deserted ranch town in the Canadian River Breaks barely west of what was once the western border of the XIT's. It's initial invitation to participants began: "You are invited to the Nara Visa Cowboy Poetry Gathering, but you should know if you come you might not get to perform and if you perform you might not get paid." Sessions and shows are not organized until everyone arrives on Friday evening. Parking is in surrounding pastures. Saturday night there is an old-time cowboy dance where dancers are encouraged to waltz to waltz tunes, two-step to two-step tunes and schottische to schottische tunes. Line dancing is discouraged.

Tommy Allsup, longtime member of Bob Will's Texas Playboys, performing at the Cowboy Music Gathering. (Photo by Natalie Brown)

Rooster Morris is a young cowboy who is foreman of the Spring Creek Ranch, one of the better ranches that occupy land originally under XIT fence. Great-nephew of Jess Morris, he is a player of many instruments, principally the fiddle, and is the kind of natural musician who might have been invited to attend Julliard if he had grown up in New York City. Although he lives only thirty or so miles from Nara Visa, he would not go to the first Nara Visa gathering because he thought cowboy poetry gatherings to be phony business. Besides, he said, he rarely picked up the fiddle or guitar anymore. But through the following year friends and neighbors softened him up and he drove over to the second Nara Visa gathering to join the festivities. Charles Gordone and Susan Kouyomjian were at the gathering—Charles had already seen enough of the gathering with its ranchy audience and surroundings to adopt the place and the event as his poetic and musical model of cow country culture.

As people gather in at Nara Visa on Fridays, some of the participants meet in a confab to discuss whether that year's gathering should have a particular tone or theme. The visiting black playwright was particularly eloquent at the meeting. Rooster was totally silent, but he was moved by Charles' speech, his manner and look. After the confab the two came together in the school yard and began talking. It was Rooster's first handshake with a black man. From that moment it was clear to anyone who knew them that each



SADDLE TREE COMPONENTS IN DALE HARWOOD'S "TREE" SHOP, SHELLY, IDAHO. (PHOTO BY JAN BOLES)

A Word About the Western Folklife Center

Based in Elko, Nevada, the Western Folklife Center is dedicated to the preservation and presentation of the cultural traditions of the American West. Since its beginnings in 1985, the Center has been most closely identified with the Cowboy Poetry Gathering but it is gaining wider recognition for the many ways in which it seeks to honor western cultural traditions. The Center also sponsors Voices of the West, a nationally syndicated radio program featuring songs and narrative in recordings and live performance from the region. The Center is now involved in developing a summer season of activities at their facility. Staff is engaged in ongoing field research of western cultural traditions and the Center houses an impressive collection of material which has provided the basis for a range of publications, award-winning videos, recordings, and radio. Since 1993, the Western Folklife Center has been headquartered at the historic Pioneer Hotel in downtown Elko and much of the organization's focus has been on the renovation of the building with the goal of making it a cultural facility with year-round activities. Plans include development of a performance space, retail store, archives, and exhibit gallery. For more information, contact Western Folklife Center, P.O. Box 888, Elko, NV 89803, (702) 738-7508.

was as good a friend as the other ever had. Also, from that time Rooster played music every chance he got, even leaving his cattle long enough to appear as a featured performer at the 1996 Elko gathering. Some who in memory identify the gatherings by a happening or a person say the '96 gathering will be remembered as "the first gathering Rooster came to."

Early the following summer—the summer of '95—Charles was diagnosed with terminal cancer. Hoping to cheat the prognosis which offered him only a few months, Susan called their friends in the Panhandle and made arrangements to move to Amarillo where Charles might regain strength enough so that he and Susan could move to the ranch with Rooster and complete "Ghost Riders," another idea of a play that had been awaiting an authentic western attitude to carry it along. He and Susan made a few trial trips to the ranch, but it was too remote from medical facilities for Charles to spend time enough there to get any work done. And he was losing rather than gaining strength. After a month's struggle early in the fall in the Panhandle, he returned to College Station where in November he died.

His play remained unwritten, but the human drama he caused to be played out in Amarillo and the Canadian River Breaks was surely as profound as the one he would have written, and in the long run it may touch more hearts and minds and in its own way have a longer run. Susan carried his ashes back to the Canadian River Breaks and the Spring Creek Ranch. His cowboy friends wrapped them in a black bandanna. A slow cortege of horses and vehicles carried a couple of dozen folks to a grassy mound overlooking a rain wash that is almost a small valley. A few people spoke briefly, a few said a poem, sang a song or played a guitar or fiddle while six jolly cowboys rested horseback in a row by the bulged bandanna, fastened by a hackamore knot, resting in the grass. Rooster dismounted, cradled the bandanna in an arm, remounted and rode slowly down the grassy slope of the prairie rain wash. His horse shied and bucked for the brief moment Rooster opened the bandanna, then eased into a dignified gallop as Rooster scattered the ashes to the wind. When Rooster returned to where the people were gathered, he dismounted and played the fiddle parts while the first cowboy poet Charles heard at Elko sang the version of "Leaving Cheyenne" Jess Morris had learned from a black cowboy about a hundred years earlier somewhere quite near the spot of this prairie funeral.

[redacted]

CONNECTING AND TRANSLATING

> "THE FOLK ARTS ARE NOT EXCERPTED FROM EVERYDAY LIFE FOR SPECIAL SCRUTINY OR ELEVATION OF TASTE OR INTELLECTUAL CURIOSITY. ON THE CONTRARY, WHAT MAKES FOLK ART DIFFERENT FROM FINE ART IS PRECISELY THAT IT IS BASED ON THE AESTHETIC PERCEPTION, EXPRESSION AND APPRECIATION OF THE COMMUNITY ADVENTURES OF EVERYDAY LIFE...
> FOLK ART FLOURISHES OR DIES OUT ENTIRELY ON ITS OWN, ACCORDING TO ITS MEANINGFULNESS TO THE PEOPLE WHO USE IT."[1]
>
> Barre Toelken, Introduction
> *Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Art of the Oregon Country*

The majority of folk arts activity in this country occurs as part of community life or as part of other organizational agendas and calendars. At every turn, the folk arts defy attempts at institutionalization on a grand scale. Folk or traditional arts may find expression in the neighborhood ethnic association whose sole purpose is to sponsor one festival every year, a Christmas crafts show organized by a museum, the anniversary performances of black gospel quartets or in the one or two traditional music tours booked annually by a presenter. The uses or functions of traditional arts and culture are numerous and diverse.

Increasingly, a range of organizations throughout the U.S. understand traditional arts and culture as uniquely powerful expressions of cultural identity and as aesthetic systems with their own value. The upsurge of political and cultural activism in the 1960s, the concern about cultural heritage and the establishment of state and federal agencies and programs capable of providing assistance and funding have all contributed to this growth. A strong network of state folk arts programs now exists in over 40 states (*see page 56*). Organizations such as the National Endowment for the Arts, the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies at the Smithsonian Institution and the National Council for the Traditional Arts (profiled later in this chapter) have played central roles in the development of a nationwide network of organizations involved in the preservation and presentation of folk arts and folk culture.

Established in 1991, The Fund for Folk Culture (FFC), the only publicly-supported foundation devoted exclusively to folk and traditional culture, now offers support for locally-based projects across the country through numerous funding programs. The largest is the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Community Folklife Program which has awarded over 125 grants nationally since 1993. The Fund for Folk Culture's other programs include the California Folk Arts Regranting Program in partnership with The James Irvine Foundation and the Conferences and Gatherings Program supported by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

At the local level, folk arts programming and services occur in a variety of organizational contexts—from a small number of organizations who identify themselves as folk arts organizations to ethnic associations, community-based arts or social service organizations, cultural centers of color and, increasingly, local arts agencies. Because folk arts are anchored in local communities—"a living heritage linking past and present" to paraphrase one folklorist—many organizations see folk arts as a vehicle for building relationships with communities and as a source for bringing people together to foster intercultural and intergenerational dialogue and understanding. Mississippi Cultural Crossroads is one such organization. Faced with a community torn apart by

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The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers, an old-time music group from East Tennessee, were especially popular at the Smithsonian Institution's 1986 Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C. (Photo by Robert Cogswell)

racism and racial division, Patty Crosby, its director, found a focus on local culture and traditional expression to be an effective means to rebuild "a sense of community" as well as a strategy for revaluing and revitalizing aspects of African American traditional culture in the area. As numerous cultural centers of color demonstrate in their programs, traditional arts also serve as a powerful means for the preservation of cultural autonomy against the accelerating homogenization of culture.

While few organizations have the inclination to focus exclusively on the presentation or preservation of traditional arts, a small number of private non-profit folk arts organizations have emerged as viable and visible organizations. A handful such as the National Council for the Traditional Arts, the Old Town School of Folk Music in Chicago, or the John C. Campbell Folk School in North Carolina have been in existence for decades, but most have emerged in the past fifteen years. Folk arts organizations, though small in number and diverse in their programming, are notable not only for their commitment to traditional art of communities but also for their methods and approaches to culture. Virtually all are multidisciplinary and engage in multicultural programming, and most engage in some form of fieldwork as a method for discovering or mapping the traditional arts or cultural life of a community.

> "YOU CAN CREATE SUCH BEAUTIFUL PATTERNS WITHOUT LOOKING AT NOBODY'S WORK. THIS IS YOURS. YOU CAN GIVE THE QUILT TO SOMEONE, BUT THE JOY YOU GET FROM STARTING WITH NOTHING AND MAKING SOMETHING BEAUTIFUL IS YOURS..."

Common Threads and Common Ground: Mississippi Cultural Crossroads

By Deborah Boykin

At first glance, Market Street in Port Gibson, Mississippi is all business: a few blocks of city and county offices, a hardware store, a small grocery and what was once a small department store. The sign above this building still advertises Red Goose Shoes, but inside, art is the business at hand. String quilts, story quilts and cornshuck hats fill the display windows, offering a crash course in Claiborne County traditional arts. Hanging side by side with the quilts is children's art: self-portraits, quilts with appliqué adapted from their drawings, and copies of *I Ain't Lying*, an oral history magazine produced by young people. This is Mississippi: Cultural Crossroads, an arts organization which works to bring the community together to explore its shared and diverse cultural traditions.[2]

A small town in the southwest part of the state, Port Gibson is the county seat of Claiborne County, situated on Highway 61 between Natchez and Vicksburg. Like many other small southern towns, it was once known primarily for its antebellum houses and its turbulent role in the civil rights movement. A 1960s boycott of white-owned businesses left a divided community where there was little interaction between black and whites. After nearly thirty years, divisions remain, but there are people in Claiborne County who take heart from the knowledge that their community is now better known for its traditional quilters than for its troubled past. This change came about through the work of a determined group of people, some who were born and raised there, some who moved to the county as adults. They shared the belief that the traditional arts were the common thread which ran through the lives of the black and white communities and Mississippi: Cultural Crossroads grew out of this belief.

When David and Patricia Crosby came to Claiborne County in the early 1970s, they were immediately struck by the contrast between the economic poverty and the wealth of traditional arts in the area. In an effort to get to know her neighbors, Patricia took a job as a census worker. She visited family after family, meeting quilters, hearing about decades of farm life, and learning about the community's traditions and history in the process. These were exciting discoveries, but the Crosbys found other aspects of life in Port Gibson troubling. "This was the seventies," recalls James Miller, president of Cultural Crossroads and a county administrator. "It was kind of a transitional period after the civil rights struggles of the sixties. There was no real dialog between the races in this community and it was hard to see how it would get better."

A first step towards community dialog came in 1978 when Patricia Crosby sought funding from the Youthgrants Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities to

Hystercine Rankin (left) and Esther Rogers (far right) demonstrate their quilting skills to elementary school children, Port Gibson, Mississippi. (Photo by Patricia Crosby)

plan a project for young people in the community. She envisioned a program that would bring together young people of both races to explore the commonalities and differences in the "arts, crafts, lore, attitudes, and emotions that characterize the . . . cultures that have shaped the community." An interracial planning committee working to examine community needs and develop a program reached several conclusions. They acknowledged that overcoming racial separation in the county would be a long and difficult process and determined that this process would best be served by the incorporation of Mississippi: Cultural Crossroads as an organization "to help serve the cultural, artistic and educational needs of the people of Claiborne County." Its first priority would be to encourage young people to explore the folklife of the community through media projects that they could execute themselves.

The new organization's first project was folk arts documentation conducted by young people. Working after school, the students talked with their relatives and neighbors, recording their recollections of life in rural Mississippi and photographing quilters, farmers, preachers, teachers and merchants. These interviews made up the first issue of *I Ain't Lyin'*, funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. A second grant from the Mississippi Arts Commission supported a residency for a filmmaker to train public school students in film and video techniques.

The success of these projects led to a collaboration that would become one of the most important elements of Cultural Crossroads' programs—a collaboration between the students and several of the area's finest African American quilters. The Mississippi Arts Commission provided funding for four quilters to work with junior high school students, demonstrating quilting techniques and helping the young people to design and produce a quilt. "As this project went on," Patricia Crosby recalls, "it became clear that quilting was a widespread community tradition." Students saw quilting as a creative process in their classes and grew even more enthusiastic when they realized that the quilters who were their relatives and neighbors were equally talented.

This first residency was followed by a quilting demonstration held at the library and funded by the Mississippi Arts Commission's first folk arts apprenticeship program. An exhibit of quilts made by local women and held at the National Guard Armory sparked more community interest. Women who were already quilting were delighted by the opportunity to share their ideas and spend time working together, and others wanted to learn. Hystercine Rankin, a Claiborne County quilter, was one of the women who participated in the first residency and other quilting activities and her talents as a quilter and teacher were quickly recognized. Cultural Crossroads found funding to hire

Auditions for the 14th season of Peanut Butter & Jelly Theater in gallery of Mississippi Cultural Crossroads during "Pieces & Strings" quilt exhibition. (Photo by Patricia Crosby)

Facts About
Claiborne County, Mississippi

[illegible]

Mrs.Rankin as an instructor, initiating a program that would bring adults into the organization's classes for the first time, starting with nine young women. She has remained a central figure in Cultural Crossroads" quilting programs ever since. "Those first classes were in a little bitty building with no heat," Mrs. Rankin remembered, "But seeing those young mothers around the quilting frame helped keep me warm. I knew they were making quilts for their babies' beds."

That was in 1988. In 1996, Cultural Crossroads has a staff of three and provides a range of services and programs for the residents of Claiborne County. Still, the quilting program is one of Cultural Crossroads' most popular activities, involving both experienced and novice quilters. While several quilters are at the frame in Cultural Crossroads' new building on any given day, their quilts may cover family beds or fill orders from as far away as California or New York. The quilters receive some orders through the mail—repeat customers, people who have learned about them through articles, exhibits, festivals and the like. Participating quilters can work on quilts at home or in the quilting room and can hang their work for sale in the display room next door. Quilters set their own prices when they bring quilts in for sale. Cultural Crossroads adds 20%. In 1995, quilters received $15,300 from consignment payments.

As sales increase, the Crossroads quilters have recognized several issues that they want to consider as a group. Their primary concern is to maintain the consistent high quality for which their work is known. Since the quilters work independently and each woman makes her own design choices, the group is now working to establish standards which ensure consistently well-made, durable quilts without compromising individual artistic choices and cultural aesthetics. Most of the quilters who currently sell their work through the organization find that their work has evolved somewhat as they have been involved with Cultural Crossroads. They want to ensure that other quilters have this opportunity while maintaining high standards for work presented for sale.

Many of the quilters are women who have retired from jobs or whose children have grown and gone. These women relish the time they have to devote to quilting. "I used to watch my mother and grandmother quilt, and all the time I was teaching I thought I'd like to get back to it someday," said Gustina Atlas, a retired teacher who says she now "quilts all the time." She has plenty of company. At a recent quilting session, a half dozen women were working on two quilts and recalling how they got started. "It used to be a community thing," Edna Montgomery remarked. "My mother and her friends would go to each other's houses and work on their quilts. People don't do that anymore, so I really like being able to come here and work with these ladies."

"Having a place to come together sure makes a difference," observed quilter Geraldine Nash. "All of the quilters who come here like to share. They share their ideas about patterns; they offer advice about putting colors together. It's really interesting to see how people can take the same patterns and express their individuality." The program also gives beginners the chance to learn by working side by side with master quilters.

Mrs. Nash's involvement with Crossroads quilting began when she was hired to baby-sit for women who attended Mrs. Rankin's class. "Nobody brought children with them," she said with a smile, "so I just sat down and started quilting with all the rest of them." Eight years later, Mrs. Nash works full-time as a quilting teacher for Cultural Crossroads. She has been instrumental in collaborations between the quilters and the children in the after-school arts program.

Since there are no visual arts programs in Claiborne County Schools, Cultural Crossroads brings students in each afternoon for arts activities. Patricia Crosby explained how the students began working with the quilters, "Students would come in and see the quilters at work and they'd become very interested in watching the women's' progress. Pretty soon they started asking, 'When can we make a quilt?'" Together, Geraldine Nash and the students designed a quilt based on the children's self-portraits. She transformed each child's picture into a fabric piece and with help from the students, placed them on a top which the "quilting women" quilted.

Many other such quilts have followed. The children and the quilters have collaborated on quilts which illustrate folk tales, recount stories from local history, or present seasonal themes. "It's a place where the quilting women and children can intersect," says Patricia Crosby. The public has the opportunity to enjoy these collaborations when they are shown in *Pieces and Strings*, the organization's annual quilt show and contest. This event features quilts from both African American and European American traditions and has become popular with Mississippi quilters from both traditions. An exhibit of children's art produced in the after school program is held at the same time.

The intergenerational partnership between the children and the quilters embodies one of the principles that guide Cultural Crossroads: Claiborne County traditional arts and oral history inform and influence all of the agency's arts programming. A more recent example, *What It Is, This Freedom*, is a play based on Claiborne county residents' stories and remembrances of local civil rights history. The stories were told and recorded in story swaps sponsored by Cultural Crossroads and playwright Nayo Watkins was com-

The National Endowment for the Arts and the Development of State Folk Arts Programs

In 1978, the Folk Arts Program (now incorporated in the Heritage and Preservation Division and once part of Special Projects) was made a separate program at NEA to support the preservation and presentation of traditional arts under the direction of Bess Lomax Hawes. It is no understatement to say that the Folk Arts Program and Ms. Hawes literally shaped a nationwide field of folk arts programs and organizations. From 1978 through 1995, the Program awarded 3,684 grants (total amount of $58,627,671) to organizations in 56 states and special jurisdictions. The Folk Arts Program developed and implemented the Apprenticeship Program model and established the National Heritage Fellowships. It provided initial seed funding for many nascent folk arts organizations. The Program's most far-reaching impact, however, may be its initial emphasis on creating a nationwide infrastructure of folk arts programs in partnership with state arts agencies and other organizations across the country. Through this strategy, the Folk Arts Program

established an effective means for reaching decentralized and diverse constituencies representing many artistic traditions in rural and urban areas throughout the country. In doing so, the Folk Arts Program served as an advocate for professional standards and trained staff with appropriate cultural and artistic expertise. By 1994, there were 46 state folk arts programs established in state arts agencies, other state agencies, state humanities councils, state historical agencies, state environmental agencies and private non-profits.

missioned to write the play. Local residents gave two performances for overflow crowds, enacting memories of plantation life, the Depression, World War II, and the civil rights movement, presenting history as it affected Claiborne County and its people. The performance moved from the Cultural Crossroads building to the street outside and then into the new county administration building, so that scenes depicting voter registration efforts and rallies in support of the black boycott of white-owned Port Gibson businesses were enacted near where the events had taken place. Cultural Crossroads not only sponsored the play, but was instrumental in the development of *No Easy Journey*, a permanent exhibit documenting the community's civil rights history and now displayed in the Matt Ross Administration Building.

The children and quilters of Cultural Crossroads helped ensure that Claiborne County quilts are also a permanent part of the building. When it was under construction, a group of children from the arts program, Geraldine Nash, and artist Brenda Wirth adapted designs from quilts made by three area quilters and executed these in stucco on the side of the building. The names of the quilters and the children are there, too. One child's parent told Patricia Crosby, "I never really felt comfortable going into the old administration building. When I look at this and see those quilt patterns and see my daughter's name up there, I feel like I own a little bit of this one."

Cultural Crossroads president James Miller, a county administrator, says that this sense of belonging is something that the agency tries hard to foster. "What we hope we've done is to offer some common ground in this community. In everything we've done, we try to cultivate interaction. It isn't always easy, but we try to keep it going." Having the Crosbys, who are not from the community, working together with Claiborne County natives helps. "It's a real partnership. We know about the local traditions like quilts and things, but we take them for granted. Local sponsors like the Board of Supervisors and the Board of Education might not have taken it seriously if Patty and Dave hadn't been so excited about it. It takes us all working together to carry it on and plan for the future. We always think about things as they relate to this community and our traditions, though. Our traditions are the glue that hold it all together."

[redacted]

FOLK ARTS PRIVATE NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

> "WE DECIDED THAT
> WE HAD NO CHOICE
> BUT TO PLUNGE
> INTO THE COMMUNITY
> WITH A COMPLETELY
> UNAPOLOGETIC ATTITUDE
> TOWARDS OUR ART,
> AS SELF-EFFACING
> MISSIONARIES FOR
> THAT ART, SEEKING
> TO BUILD AS MANY
> POINTS OF CONNECTION
> AS WE COULD FIND."[1]
>
> Bruce Coppock, Executive Director
> St. Louis Symphony Orchestra

BY ELIZABETH PETERSON

It may seem odd to begin an article about folk arts private non-profit organizations with a statement by a symphony orchestra director but, in fact, the statement describes accurately much about the attitudes and processes by which most private non-profit folk arts organizations approach the work that they do and the communities and audiences they serve. Most of these organizations are still in their youth—the vast majority were founded well after the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965—and they are still driven by the passions and convictions of their founders (*see page 61*).[4] From their very beginnings, the best of them have plunged and connected with artists and communities at a furious pace. Most of them place emphasis on working with traditional artists and cultural traditions within the context of community life and from the perspective of the local communities themselves. And, depending on their mission and focus, they have gone about this process in different ways.[5]

The Western Folklife Center called upon the assistance of fellow folklorists throughout the West to identify the practitioners of one art form—cowboy poetry—and wound up launching careers and connecting with ranching communities across the West in ways they never dreamed. The Philadelphia Folklore Project is committed to developing concerts, exhibitions and publications in collaboration with communities and traditional artists in their city and, in the past, has provided annual technical assistance workshops and ongoing consultation with other cultural agencies which leverages well over $100,000 annually for grassroots cultural organizations and traditional artists. Founded in 1966 by folk dance enthusiast and cultural activist Martin Koenig, the Balkan Arts Center evolved into the Ethnic Folk Arts Center by 1981. In addition to a year-round schedule of cultural presentations, the Center is now implementing Community Cultural Initiatives, major multi-year projects of cultural documentation and facilitation, technical assistance and collaborative programming with a broad range of communities in the greater New York metropolitan area, including Albanian, Arabic-speaking, Dominican, Asian Indian and West African communities.

Of course, the descriptions above beg the question, what is a folk arts organization? What characteristics if any do they share in common? What are their goals and accomplishments and what obstacles do they face? As this study demonstrates, folk arts private non-profit organizations share a commitment to the preservation and presentation of traditional art and culture of diverse communities with literally thousands of organizations throughout the U.S. They share common cause, encounter occasional conflict and frequently collaborate with grassroots volunteer-run organi-

Dominican carnival gagá dancer Pedro Sosa, a member of Asadifé, captivates school children in a performance produced by the Ethnic Folk Arts Center at Jumel Mansion in Washington Heights, Manhattan, 1995. (Photo by Tom van Buren/courtesy of Ethnic Folk Arts Center)

What is Fieldwork?

When folklorists, ethnomusicologists or other cultural specialists use the term fieldwork, they are referring to both a perspective and a set of practices. Fieldwork is informed by a perspective which accepts cultural pluralism and diversity as positive values. It is likewise grounded in the premise that artistic traditions are best understood within broad social, cultural and historical contexts and from the point of view of artists, cultural practitioners or community members. In practice, fieldwork has been characterized as "engaged awareness." It requires sharpened skills of listening, interviewing and observation. It is a tool of research or discovery and it can be a means for other ends: to create an enduring record of traditions that would otherwise not be documented, to identify artists or for intergenerational programming, cultural revitalization projects, community planning or cultural needs assessments. When it is done well, as Marci Reaven of City Lore put it, fieldwork skills are instrumental to knowing "how to get people talking to each other, how to get people telling stories, how to get people to the heart of the matter and to the values of an issue."

zations, religious organizations, museums, ethnic specific arts organizations, mutual assistance associations, community activists, fiddle associations, other music societies and performing groups, social service and resettlement agencies, historical societies, presenters, community development agencies, humanities agencies, radio stations, independent film producers and many others.

As a group, folk arts private non-profit organizations display great variation as well: they are multi-disciplinary in the truest sense of the word and frequently conduct programming in varied presentational formats (*see page 61*). Because folk arts organizations work with diverse cultural traditions and communities over time, the relationships they establish with audiences and communities also shift and change. Some, for example, seek to foster intercultural understanding by introducing traditional artists and cultures to a broad public and place a greater emphasis on artistic presentation while others strive to work more closely with particular communities developing programs or services in cooperation *with* communities and *for* communities. Such orientations, of course, are not mutually exclusive. In fact, most folk arts organizations combine both approaches to greater or lesser degrees and many, by virtue of their mission, their training and their perspectives, are particularly skilled at moving "betwixt and between" cultures and communities. But what commonalities do they share?

Based upon the findings of the survey of folk arts organizations conducted for this study (which was limited to organizations with 501(c)(3) status), these organizations usually label themselves as entities primarily involved with folk or traditional culture; devote over 75% of their efforts and time to programs or services emphasizing folk arts, folklife or traditional culture; have at least one professional paid staff member with relevant cultural expertise; and share the following goals and practices:

- **to promote**, present, preserve or serve the folk and traditional arts, heritage, or traditional culture of diverse regional, ethnic, occupational or religious groups.
- **to engage** in (or rely upon) some form of field research to identify traditional artists, cultural practitioners and traditions, and to build collaborative working relationships with specific communities *(see page 59)*.
- **to foster** awareness, understanding and appreciation for the role of traditional art or cultural heritage in daily life through programs, services, publications or advocacy.
- **to provide** information and technical assistance to traditional artists, communities and their organizations.

While folk arts organizations share a commitment to presenting and preserving traditional arts and culture of diverse communities, they also share many organizational

ACCESS

The Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) is a human service organization which assists primarily low income Arab American families and newly arrived Arab immigrants in Detroit, and fosters among other Americans a greater understanding of Arab culture. The Cultural Arts Program has always been an important service offered by ACCESS along with all its other social, health, educational, employment, and legal services. The ACCESS Cultural Arts Program maintains a traditional arts exhibit inside the center, presents Arab artists at events, and conducts folk cultural surveys within different Arab communities throughout the city. Through arts and cultural programming, ACCESS seeks to bring together Arabs in the Detroit community — many of whom are from different religions and countries of origin — to participate in workshops with renowned Arab American artists, enjoy concerts and other cultural events. Current survey work explores Michigan's Syrian, Palestinian, Lebanese, Yemeni and other Arabs who practice embroidery, music, instrument making, calligraphy, henna designs, traditional doll making, jewelry, and foodways.

Most Common Ongoing Folk Arts Organizational Activities

Activity	Organizations responding to this category
Presentation or production of performing folk/traditional arts (concerts, tours, etc.)	17
Advocacy Work	17
Photo documentation	16
Newsletter	15
Archival activity/ collection management	15
Technical assistance or services to community groups	15
Presentation or coordination of multicultural or multidisciplinary events/festivals	14
Field research	13

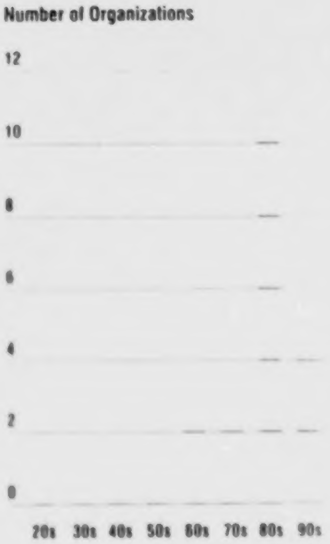
Range of Incomes Reported by Surveyed Organizations

	Number of Organizations (n=23)
Less than $100,000	4
$1000,000-$499,000	8
$500,000-$1,000,000	4
$1,000,000 or more	6
Refused	1
Total	23

Income Breakdown by Income Sources

Earned Income	32%
Private Funding	43%
Public Funding	21%
Other Funding	4%

Decades Folk Arts Organizations Founded



Most of the organizations (65%) were founded in the 1980s or 90s. Very few were established before 1980—about 9% have been in existence since the 1970s, and about 26% have been in existence before 1970. Source: NuStats, Inc., Austin, Texas.

Institute for Cultural Partnerships

Institute for Cultural Partnerships (ICP) was founded in 1995 by Shalom Staub to build positive inter-group relations through innovative, community-based programs that promote understanding of cultural diversity. Both Staub and fellow folklorist Amy Skillman formerly served in the state offices of the Pennsylvania Heritage Affairs Commission where they developed a folk arts program that reached thousands of ethnic organizations representing over one hundred ethnic communities. Through the ICP, Staub and Skillman continue to conserve folk and traditional culture in Pennsylvania through research, documentation, and presentation. They are joined by other professional staff trained in planning, needs assessment, management and conflict resolution, and, as an organization, they offer a unique blend of programs and services which address cultural differences as resources, not barriers. The Pennsylvania Council on the Arts awarded the ICP a contract to administer the state's folk arts funding program, including technical assistance for applicants, and application review. In their capacity as consultants, they also are developing the regional traditional arts program at the Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation. The ICP mission is to promote awareness and appreciation for cultural heritage of all ethnic communities and to bring down barriers between people by helping them open avenues of inter-group communication. For more information, contact ICP, P.O. Box 5020, Harrisburg, PA 17110, (717) 238-1770.

concerns and obstacles as well. As Tara McCarty, executive director of the Western Folklife Center, aptly commented, "It takes a whole lot more to run an organization than it does a group of people working passionately on a project." While a handful of nascent organizations are still struggling to create paid staff positions and establish themselves as independent entities, most folk arts organizations are in the throes of building lasting, sustainable institutions and facing the stresses that such an enterprise entails. Most operate with staffs of under ten people and with budgets which range from less than $100,000 to over $1,000,000 (*see page 61*). And, like other small to mid-size cultural institutions, institutional survival and funding are overriding concerns.

Based upon the data gathered in the survey and in interviews with several directors of organizations, it is clear that most planning efforts and creative organizational thinking these days are clustered around the problems of diversifying funding sources and developing earned income. While folk arts organizations have always relied on public support in the past, most are exploring new sources of support as they confront the vagaries of public and private funding (*see page 61*). Although the earned income average for all organizations is nearly one third of the total funding average, several with a performing arts emphasis already report earned income exceeding 50%. Others are seeking new forms of support: developing financially equitable partner-

Slovak wheat weaving by Sidonka Wadina Lee, from the exhibit **Passed to the Present: Folk Arts Along Wisconsin's Ethnic Settlement Trail**, organized by the Cedarburg Cultural Center. (Photo by Lewis Koch/courtesy of Cedarburg Cultural Center)

CONVERSATIONS ABOUT FIELDWORK

Hal Cannon (Western Folklife Center)

When we raise money, we try to tell people if they are going to invest in something that is really good, they're not only investing in the outcome, the product. They're investing in the process, our research. They're investing in part of the archivist's salary so there is a lasting record. They're even investing in a cash reserve fund that gives us long term stability. That's a hard pill to swallow for some but we're up front about this. We know what our needs are. We see our work as a long term proposition. Every project we do, [illegible] a lot of people come around. Research is the basis of all of our good work.

Patricia Jasper (Texas Folklife Resources)

The true demands for serving our constituencies are based on our ability to continue to do fieldwork that feeds significantly into programs but also feeds into a way to communicate with the communities we work with. Fieldwork is a way to continue connecting.

Phyllis Brzozowska (Cityfolk)

It occurs to me that we're talking about two aspects of fieldwork. There's the research and development but there's also audience development and outreach. There's the connections with communities, the partnerships, the building of relationships over time. It's only academically trained folklorists that really use the term fieldwork to mean both. I think this is one of the greatest things the folklore field has to offer the rest of the arts in this country — how to do the community organizing and interactions with communities that arts companies and organizations don't have a clue about.

ships with other organizations, providing consulting and technical services, exploring cultural tourism alternatives, and creating marketable services and products from their field research activities.

At a time when competition for scarce resources is increasing, many folk arts organizations represent a mature and vibrant perspective about cultural differences and common bonds and constitute a valuable community resource. Their voice is one of many speaking in cross rhythms and syncopation about the importance of traditional art and culture in everyday life, the resilience of its presence and the gravity of its loss. But it is an important one. They possess curatorial expertise and a set of facilitation and research skills which enable them to work with diverse communities, identify rich cultural resources among constituencies who often fall through institutional cracks, assist local cultural revitalization efforts and introduce folk artists and traditions to new audiences. Although the long-term impact of their work is very difficult to measure, the range of their accomplishments are best illustrated through the following brief profiles of four organizations. While these four should not be considered as representative of all folk arts organizations, they give an indication of the range, variety and quality of activity and emphasis.

FOUR PROFILES

CITY LORE, NEW YORK CITY

Director Steve Zeitlin is unabashed in his hopes and dreams for City Lore, which he founded in 1986, when he says, "we want to move people deeply. We want to have an impact on people's lives and try to get people to see the world in a more humanistic way." A decade of steady growth may be one indicator of impact. In ten years, their budget has grown from roughly $100,000 to over a million. A full-time staff of five work in five programmatic areas of emphasis: 1) documentation (field research); 2) advocacy (cultural activism working with and in support of local folk artists and communities); 3) interpretation (special projects, utilizing scholarly expertise); 4) presentation (ongoing programming, activities); and 5) education.

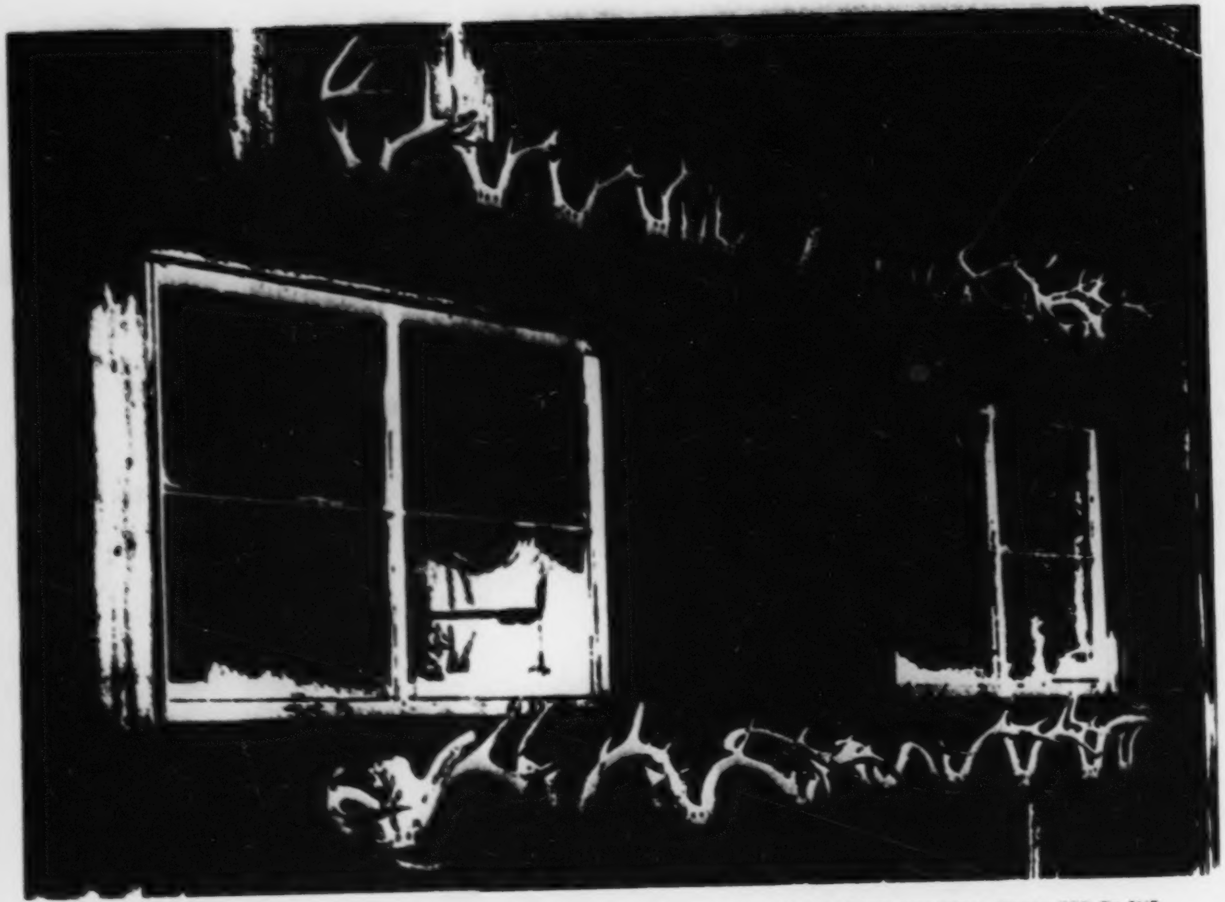
In particular, City Lore takes an active leadership and advocacy role in developing programs, resources and skills which incorporate folk arts and culture fully into the educational curriculum. The City Lore Center for Folk Arts in Education has joined in partnership with the Bank Street College of Education to develop a multicultural resource center for teachers and develop materials for classroom use. In 1996, City Lore launched *Nourishing the Heart: A Guide to Intergenerational Arts Projects in the Schools* and *The Culture Catalog*, a mail order compendium of multi-media resources in oral history, folklore and community studies. The catalog also constitutes City Lore's first entrepreneurial venture to develop unrestricted sources of income.

Many, though not all, of City Lore's other programs and services explore the ways in which individuals and neighborhoods create and maintain affiliation with the cultural landscape of New York City. An early exhibition and accompanying book *City Play*, for example, examined the ways in which children use and adapt their environments for play. The People's Hall of Fame, an annual event started in 1993, honors selected city residents for "the way they live their art and embody tradition within their own communities" (*see chapter 6*). They also co-sponsored a 1996 conference with the Municipal Art Society on endangered community landmarks and establishments which brought together historic preservationists, local artists and residents, folklorists and other community activists to identify needs and examine strategies for preserving community-based sites. And, at the moment, City Lore's most pressing needs include finding a permanent place for themselves to call home—one with enough space for programming and a teacher's resource center.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE TRADITIONAL ARTS, SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND

Founded in 1933 by Sarah Gertrude Knott, many people consider the National Council for the Traditional Arts (NCTA) to be the granddaddy of folk arts organizations. It is the nation's oldest multicultural producing and presenting organization dedicated solely to the presentation and documentation of folk and traditional arts in the United States and its list of firsts is impressive. NCTA's flagship program, the National Folk Festival, is the oldest multi-cultural folk festival in the country and pioneered many of the presentational techniques used in today's festivals: workshops, crafts demonstrations, multi-cultural presentation, and using scholars as resources for providing contextual information of artistic traditions. Since its beginnings in 1934, the Festival has moved to different sites throughout the country. Today, NCTA employs the strategy of moving the festival every three years and working in partnership with host sites to lay the groundwork for the continuation of a festival by the host community.

Since 1978, under the direction of Joe Wilson, NCTA has also produced numerous national and international tours of folk, ethnic and tribal performing arts. To date, over 20 tours have traveled to 49 states and, under the



A photo from the touring exhibition, **Deer Camp: Last Light in the Northeast Kingdom**, organized by the Vermont Folklife Center. (Photo by John M. Miller courtesy of Vermont Folklife Center)

Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund Programs for Regional Folklife Centers

From 1991 to 1995, the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund has invested over $10.1 million in a variety of programs designed to strengthen folk arts organizations, broaden access to exhibitions and performances of folk and traditional arts, and foster community-based folk arts activity. As part of this holistic funding approach, the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund has awarded multi-year grants to seven regional folk arts centers, enabling them to broaden public programs, engage in long-range organizational planning and development, and build cash reserves or restricted program funds. Recipients include Cityfolk, City Lore, Philadelphia Folklore Project, Northwest Folklife, Texas Folklife Resources, Vermont Folklife Center, and the Western Folklife Center.

auspices of the United States Information Agency, in 31 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Near East, the former Soviet Union and the Caribbean. In touring, they have pioneered various presentational strategies and worked with community-based and mainstream presenters in innovative ways. An earlier tour, *Der Yiddisher Caravan*, presented traditional Yiddish theater, klezmer music, cantorial and folk songs in Jewish community centers and Hebrew homes for the aging throughout the country. *California Generations*, a specially-commissioned tour by California Presenters, presented the performing traditions of native, immigrant and ethnic groups who call California home.

Unlike most other folk arts organizations, the National Council for the Traditional Arts works most frequently and effectively at the national level, serving broad constituencies throughout the country. In addition to their ongoing touring and festival efforts, NCTA has worked with the National Park Service in cultural planning and programming for new parks and has provided technical and production services to other state and federal agencies including the National Endowment for the Arts, the Smithsonian Institution and the D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities.

TEXAS FOLKLIFE RESOURCES, AUSTIN, TEXAS

When Pat Jasper started Texas Folklife Resources (TFR) in 1985, she and two other folklorists operated the organization from a desk in her house. Over ten years later, there is a full time staff of five, a devoted group of volunteers, a thirteen member board, and an annual budget near $400,000. As the name implies, TFR primarily serves a statewide constituency and is "dedicated to the preservation and presentation of Texas folklife and folk arts." They do so in four programmatic areas: 1) public programs (exhibitions, concerts, workshops, etc.); 2) technical assistance and advocacy (working with artists and community-based groups); 3) documentation and preservation; and 4) multi-media and publications.

While Texas Folklife Resources has assisted artists and communities throughout Texas in all four programmatic areas, the organization has focused in recent years on developing mechanisms and relationships to distribute programs and services more effectively to communities throughout the state. Developing programs in many presentational formats is one means for documenting particular traditions in depth and introducing artists and traditions to new audiences and contexts. *Accordion Kings*, for instance, was a multi-year research project examining the cross-cultural

Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción

Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción (IBA) was established in 1968 through the grassroots efforts of the largely Puerto Rican community of Boston's South End. Today, IBA's Villa Victoria houses more than 3,000 low and moderate income residents and is one of the country's most successful community development models. One key to IBA's success is its holistic approach to the services it provides to residents. In addition to economic and social services, IBA offers an array of cultural programs through the the Arte y Cultura Department, promoting Puerto Rican and Latino arts and culture through school programs and video production and arts instruction for youth. IBA also hosts cultural events at their Jorge Hernández Cultural Center, which reach over 40,000 people annually. The Cafe Teatro series at the Cultural Center brings theatre, dance, and traditional and popular music to IBA residents and thousands of their Boston neighbors. Puerto Rican bomba, plena, and jibaro, Cuban rumba and ritual drumming, Latin jazz, dance and theatre, are mainstays of the popular series. In recent years, IBA joined with other Latino cultural organizations in the Northeast to form La Ruta Panorámica, a Latin American presenting consortium which enables members to share resources and develop collaborative programming in a timely, cost effective manner.

influences and blending of four distinct musical traditions (polka, conjunto, cajun and zydeco) native to Texas. Documentation efforts ultimately resulted in a Houston concert, an Austin concert and symposium (including artists, scholars, recording industry personnel and journalists), a radio series for NPR broadcast nationwide, and a statewide touring program.

Touring performing arts programs and exhibitions has proved to be another area which has enabled them to reach broader audiences and develop an earned income base. Touring Traditions, begun in 1992 as a cooperative venture between TFR and the Texas Commission on the Arts (TCA), is a folk arts component to the TCA Touring Arts Roster. TFR produces thematic folk arts tours, provides assistance to artists and presenters, and TCA provides subsidies to presenters. In particular, TFR is building on the success of the 1994 *Canciones y Corridos* tour which offered extensive technical assistance to community-based presenters in South Texas and, in effect, created a loose-knit presenting network for future programs. Building on this success, they are developing an exhibition *La Tradicion Tejana – Focus on Tejano Traditions* to tour these communities and, in the future they intend to link their educational programs in the Rio Grande Valley more closely with touring programs.

VERMONT FOLKLIFE CENTER, MIDDLEBURY, VERMONT

Like Texas Folklife Resources, the Vermont Folklife Center serves a statewide constituency. Based upon recommendations from the Governor's Conference on the Arts, folklorist Jane Beck left a position as folk arts coordinator at the Vermont Council on the Arts in 1982 to found the Center. Since 1988, the Center has resided at the Gamaliel Painter House, an historic site which has enough space for on-site exhibitions, small-scale programs as well as an archive. In 1996, there is a staff of five and a budget approaching $400,000. In recognition of their role in the conservation of Vermont's cultural heritage, the Center was awarded the Citation for Arts Merit from the Vermont Council for the Arts in 1995.

From its very beginning, the Vermont Folklife Center has concentrated much of its programming around the spoken word, the oral interview and oral history. Its dominant focus is the people, the landscape, and the traditions rooted in Vermont's rural communities. Jane Beck herself credits the recognition the Center received for its first video *On My Own* (and subsequent Peabody award-winning radio series *Journey's End*) about the life and times of Daisy Turner, an African American native of Vermont born in the late nineteenth century, as critical to establishing the Center's viability early on. Since that time, the Center has continued to make available their recorded histories and narratives in a variety of accessible formats. *Voices from Vermont*, a weekly radio series for Vermont Public Radio, uses narrative and anecdote to examine various issues and topics about Vermont's rural life. They have developed several manuals and resource guides utilizing their research for teachers, educators and the general public. They also hold periodic workshops and conferences for teachers throughout Vermont regarding aspects of local culture and history.

In addition, the Center has an ongoing exhibition series, most of which are developed by Center staff. One such exhibition, *The Warmth of Words: Wisdom and Delight through Storytelling*, was a sound installation featuring selections from the Center's sound archive. Occasional exhibitions such as the 1993 *Deer Camp: Last Light in the Northeast Kingdom* tour nationally. More recently, however, they have begun identifying and working cooperatively with a loose-knit network of small museums and folk arts agencies throughout New England and upstate New York to develop small, low-security exhibitions suitable for travel to community-based venues throughout the region.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANIZING

> "SOMETIMES PEOPLE MUST
> FIRST FORTIFY THEIR BASE
> BEFORE THEY SALLY OUT
> TO CHANGE THE WORLD.
> PEOPLE ALWAYS HAVE
> RESOURCES: AVAILABLE
> INTELLIGENCE, INDIGENOUS
> LANGUAGE, THE SKILL OF
> THEIR HANDS, HISTORY,
> A SENSE OF IDENTITY,
> A CULTURAL HERITAGE, PRIDE,
> A CERTAIN PIECE OF LAND.
> SOMETIMES THE DEVELOPMENT
> PROCESS IS NOT SO MUCH
> ABOUT CHANGE AS ABOUT
> THE PRESERVATION AND
> STRENGTHENING OF
> THOSE RESOURCES."

Because the folk arts are normally defined as those traditions which are passed on informally through time within a particular community, we tend to characterize traditional artists as practicing outside institutional settings. We think of them as "non-joiners." It is true that many traditional artists do not describe themselves as artists and few of them have membership in organizations active in the institutionalized art world. But neither do traditional artists and cultures live in isolation from the rest of the world. With more and more frequency, some traditional artists and communities are beginning to come together around common issues and problems to speak and act in a common voice. These issues and problems often cluster around notions of access, visibility, and control—that is, access to resources and broader markets; increased visibility and respect for artists and traditions; and personal or community control over the development and maintenance of cultural traditions.

In concrete terms, these needs are most frequently met through the formation of broad-based coalitions and alliances and technical assistance from a range of service agencies. For those performing artists who wish to reach audiences outside their local community, for instance, technical assistance often focuses on issues of artistic professional development—developing promotional materials, learning business and marketing fundamentals, and gaining access to new venues and audiences—and these are forms of technical assistance most frequently found in arts organizations or agencies.

For craftspeople, however, as Theresa Hoffman's article indicates, issues of access to scarce resources (whether they are natural or human) or broader markets have required the expertise and cooperation of diverse individuals and agencies—from parks and forestry personnel, chambers of commerce, state departments of tourism and economic development to folklorists, museums and others involved in historic preservation and cultural tourism activities. Conference or "gathering" models emphasizing information sharing among artists and other relevant organizations, mentoring and peer exchange have proved to be highly successful models as have the development of artist cooperatives. The development of artists cooperatives has been most prevalent throughout Appalachia, in some Native American communities and throughout areas of Central and South America.

Key issues for many of these artists are not whether to develop, change, or preserve their traditional arts and culture but how to maintain ownership and control of their futures and their culture. And this is perhaps the *key* issue in cultural tourism or preservation efforts. The marketing of the culture or heritage of a particular locale as a strategy for economic development is an increasingly hot topic and practice and one fraught with peril if local participation,

Planning for Balanced Development

Planning for Balanced Development: A Guide for Native American and Rural Communities, by anthropologist/cultural planner Susan Guyette documents a field-tested model of community planning developed by Guyette and the Pueblo of Pojoaque in the creation of the Poeh Center at Pojoaque Pueblo in northern New Mexico. The book outlines a cultural planning process that stresses community participation at all levels of planning and implementation and surveys methods for comprehensive community needs assessment; planning methods for cultural revitalization, business development, and cultural tourism development; in-depth examinations of economic and business development and cultural tourism development which complement cultural revitalization; and the generation and management of resources for sustained community development. It contains a wealth of practical resources, sample forms, lists, and budgets and, as the subtitle suggests, much of the information is applicable to rural as well as Native American communities. For more information, contact Clear Light Publishers, 823 Don Diego, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501, (800) 253-2747.

AMANDA CARROLL (YUROK), AGE SEVEN, AT THE 1995 CALIFORNIA INDIAN BASKETWEAVERS GATHERING (PHOTO BY DUGAN AGUILAR © 1996 DUGAN AGUILAR AND CIBA)

concerns and sense of ownership are not addressed from the beginning. Susan Guyette's book *Planning for Balanced Development* offers useful strategies for eliciting community participation and maintaining community control. Pro-active stances on cultural conservation are important components of success. In the case of South Carolina's sweetgrass basketmakers, innovative arrangements and alliances between business and conservation interests assisted in conserving one of the state's important cultural resources. As Robert Cogswell, director of Folk Arts for the Tennessee Arts Commission has remarked, "The goal of long-range development strategies is to continually strengthen a community's overall cultural tourism environment, and this includes looking after the health of the cultural resources that provide its foundation."[2]

[redacted]

Hanging by a Blade of Grass: Traditional Basketmaking in Maine, South Carolina and California

By Theresa Hoffman

> “Once I become famous, Mama will not have to make any more Indian baskets.”

The words at left were spoken in 1927 by my great-aunt, an aspiring young native dancer and actress, and they epitomize the perception of native basketry on the Penobscot Indian Reservation at that time. Malledellis' mother (my great-grandmother) was a traditional native woman, a tribal healer who used medicines from the Maine woods, and her basketmaking was practiced to feed her children. For many people on the reservation, basketry was linked with poverty and this negative association helps explain why basketry all but disappeared from our culture in this century. In order to earn a decent living, young people were encouraged to leave the reservation. By 1990, there were fewer than one dozen native basketmakers from four tribes under the age of 60 in the entire state of Maine.

Maine

Responding to a strongly-felt need to hold on to brown ash basketry, one of the last intact vestiges of native culture in Maine, a dedicated group of some 75 Maine Indian basketmakers, representing Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquody and Penobscot tribes, gathered together to form the Maine Indian Basketmakers Alliance (MIBA) in 1993. The first meeting, held in 1992, was co-organized by myself (then an apprentice basketmaker) and folklorist Kathleen Mundell of the Maine Arts Commission. In part, that first meeting grew out of the Maine Arts Commission's Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, and sessions were marked by a spirit of intertribal cooperation and lively talk about the obstacles and goals for preserving basketry traditions.

Through the years, other forces besides negative image have intensified the serious decline of the tradition—poor supply, lack of access to basketmaking materials, and inadequate access to markets being key among them—and MIBA attempts to respond. In 1993, basketmakers like Donald Sanipass (Micmac), who claimed that something was killing the “basket tree,” prompted the Alliance to organize the Brown Ash Task Force, a consortium of tribal, state and federal foresters and basketmakers to analyze the ash problem and its negative impact on the tradition. The work of the task force foresters confirmed what basketmakers had known for a decade, that the precious trees, deeply “rooted ” in native culture through creation stories, were dying. In addition to emphasis on supply and access to natural resources, an annual basketmakers gathering and festival is held, where basketmakers meet to discuss common issues and market baskets to the public. Marketing projects thus far have produced a poster, brochures, a small basketry exhibit at a local airport, and increased visibility for native basketmakers and traditions in Maine.

Works in progress: brown ash splint baskets by Maliseet basketmaker Jim Tomah, Aroostook County, Maine.

(Photo by Cedric N. Chatterley)

South Carolina

Faced with similar issues, traditional basketmakers elsewhere are organizing to address common problems in a collective manner. Nearly 300 basketmakers in the Mount Pleasant, South Carolina area were quietly practicing their centuries old tradition of sweetgrass basketry, when bulldozers broke the silence in the last decade. Major sources of sweetgrass were literally paved over, in this one of the most rapidly developing areas of the East Coast. A 1988 Sweetgrass Conference in Charleston, co-organized by folklorists Dale Rosengarten, Gary Stanton and basketmaker Henrietta Snype brought basketmakers together with a diverse audience, ranging from land developers to scientists to folklorists, who were either inadvertently threatening or trying to help preserve the heritage. The conference also led to the formation of the Mount Pleasant Sweetgrass Basketmakers Association. " It's ironic," said Mary Jackson, Mount Pleasant Sweetgrass Basketmakers Association President, "increased development has brought more potential customers to our region, but it has also wiped out many of the wetlands that we have historically relied on to supply us with sweetgrass."

Since the conference, with the assistance of local agencies and Clemson University, 10.5 acres of sweetgrass have been planted at three local sites and basketmakers have since harvested their first crops. The unique and relatively rare species of grass has been brought back from the brink of "extinction," at least in the local area. Basket sales stands on Highway 17, equally endangered by development, have been saved by local zoning efforts and foresighted developers who regard this distinctive cultural tradition as a positive contribution to the local economy and ambiance. The airport in Charleston proudly boasts of the sweetgrass heritage of South Carolina, with an impressive exhibit of basketry. In fact, a new awareness by collectors has caused basketry prices to double in the past five years.

California

California Indian basketweavers have made great strides since 1991, when the first California Indian Basketweavers Gathering was held. Gathering materials for basketweaving, which include more than one hundred plants for baskets and dyes such as bear grass, sedge, juncus, deer grass, redbud, hazel, ferns, alder, spruce, and many others, is as spiritually significant to Native California culture, as the weaving itself. Native California baskets are made more often for ceremonial and traditional use than for sale and access to materials is a primary concern for basketweavers and crucial to the continuity of the tradition. Yurok/Karuk/Hoopa basketweaver Kathy Wallace remarked, "Basketmaking is more to us than just a craft. It's a tie to our ancestors and to the earth and to the future. We have a lot of responsibility to

MICMAC BASKETMAKER RICHARD SILLIBOY AND APPRENTICE VALENTINE POLCHIES RETURN FROM THE WOODS WITH BROWN ASH SUITABLE FOR BASKETMAKING. AROOSTOOK COUNTY, MAINE. (PHOTO BY CEDRIC N. CHATTERLEY ©1996)

Fund for Folk Culture
Conferences and Gatherings Program

Yup'ik Traditional Dance
City of Saint Mary's Alaska

In 1992, in a high school gymnasium in Emmonak, Alaska, nearly 600 Yup'ik Eskimos of all ages gathered from villages throughout the lower Yukon River region and Russian Siberia for a Yup'ik Eskimo "Yuraryarait" (dance festival). They exchanged gifts in a ceremonial potlatch. Then elders moved to the center of the floor and danced from kneeling positions, moving their arms and torsos to describe songs about hunting, picking berries, or muskrats and beavers popping their heads above the water. The audience encouraged them by calling out "chale!" (encore!). The dancers repeated their movements with greater intensity to the quickening tempo of thunderous large round frame drums.

Concerned about the survival of Yup'ik cultural heritage, the City of St. Mary's first brought together artists in 1982 from nine villages in Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta where traditional dancing was still practiced to participate in a festival designed to pass on dance traditions to younger generations. The success of that event stimulated the creation of dance festivals throughout the lower Yukon River region. St. Mary's sponsored an intervillage festival in 1985. Then, in 1989, the Coastal Yukon Mayor's Association (CYMA), a nonprofit organization serving lower Yukon River area villages, hosted Mountain Village Dance Festival. With NEA Folk & Traditional Arts support, the 1992 festival in Emmonak included dance groups from 12 Yup'ik villages, Nome, and Naukan Yup'ik dance groups from the Russian far east. Another is planned for 1996. It is the CYMA's hope to hold the festival every three or four years rotating each year among different villages.

pass it on." Norma Turner (Western Mono) echoes this sentiment. " In my classes, I talk about culture and I talk about leaving offerings. We need to give thanks [when gathering materials and making baskets] . This is what the old people did."

The California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA), founded in 1992, has noted a steady increase in the numbers of basketweavers since their annual gatherings began, and now counts some 400 plus weavers 36 major California tribal affiliations. CIBA has been instrumental in bringing awareness to natural resource access and management issues. With urging from native basketmakers, for example, the U.S. Forest Service has been conducting successful bear grass burns and basketweavers in some areas have encouraged highway officials to cut roadside vegetation, rather than spray excess growth with pesticides. Important sources of basketmaking materials have in some areas, however, already been completely obliterated by development. Basketweavers face constant threats from pesticide spraying in their supply areas, so educating the public about the importance of gathering materials is an ongoing effort.

Southern Arts Federation
Traditional Artists Technical Assistance Project

The newly-created Traditional Artists Technical Assistance Project (TATAP), initiated by the Southern Arts Federation (SAF), emerges from the Underserved Presenters Technical Assistance Project, an ongoing program which assists community-based presenters to develop presenting capabilities and networks. Realizing that assistance to traditional artists goes hand-in-hand with assistance to presenters, SAF staff intends to create a program which can effectively link the needs and interests of both. TATAP helps traditional artists in the South become competitive in the world of performing arts and seeks to bring new exposure to some of the most talented traditional artists the region has to offer. Through an application process, selected traditional artists and groups receive assistance in developing professional promotional materials such as demo recordings, video clips, or photos. Artists attend the Southern Arts Exchange (SAE), the region's performing arts booking conference and showcase, participate in a series of pre-conference workshops, have booth space in the SAE Exhibit Hall where they distribute promotional materials and work with SAF staff to negotiate bookings with presenters. They also perform at the SAE showcase for 200-300 presenters—a chance to show their talent for potential engagements in the upcoming season. SAF staff assist with bookings during the conference and provide follow-up throughout the year. For more information about TATAP, contact:

Southern Arts Federation,
181 14th St, N.E., Suite 400
Atlanta, GA 30309
(404) 874-7244.

[illegible]

Sisters Marie M. Rouse and Elizabeth L. Mazyck at their roadside basket stands, intersection of Highway 17 North and Highway 41, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, 1994. (Photo by Dale Rosengarten)

"It is extremely important to keep having Gatherings. The Gathering is a touchstone for good feeling throughout the year. It provides many connections for those concerned with baskets and weaving. It allows for incredible interaction between the old and the young. It helps to keep all involved informed about plant issues: gathering, pesticides, access, and so forth. It lets us see each other's weaving and share ideas and concerns."

Anita Bussell (Hupa-Mattole) assists Janey Eslick (Yurok) and Kimberly Peters (Yurok) in the Learner's Circle at the 1992 California Indian Basketweavers Gathering. (Photo by Hank Meals)

Partnerships

The fact that these grassroots cultural organizations were formed is remarkable in itself, given the many obstacles from within the communities. Basketmakers' initial fears ranged from heightened consciousness of the art form bringing competition for materials and sales, to paying sales and employment taxes. Political boundaries existing within the close-knit communities sometimes discourage people from forming groups with other communities, even of similar cultural background. In Maine, the Basketmakers Alliance is the only organization which successfully brings members of all four tribes together to work on common issues. The community fabric in the Mount Pleasant Sweetgrass Basketmakers Association appears to be woven together with faith, as well as sweetgrass. The first steering committee meeting of basketmakers took place in a local church and communication between basketmakers continues to take place there. The California organization, in contrast, draws its membership from tribes spread throughout California who come together to participate in Association activities. Several sub-groups of the Association have formed, such as the Northern California Indian Basketweavers and the Central California Indian Basketweavers, as basketweavers focus on local activities and issues, while maintaining ties with the larger organization and its goals.

Funding for organizational support, critical for the future of these organizations, is typically difficult to locate and sometimes comes from surprising places. Linking artistic and cultural needs to economic or environmental needs demands a holistic approach to fundraising as well as cultural planning. Initial support from the National Endowment for the Arts Folk Arts Program was flexible enough to respond to the localized needs of each group and ranged from annual basketweavers' gatherings in California, to basketry apprenticeships in Maine, to emergency dollars for rebuilding basket sales stands, after Hurricane Hugo in South Carolina. Unprecedented partnerships between the cultural organizations have formed with groups as diverse as Offices of Tourism to Highway Departments to Forest Services. The notion of these cultural groups working together with governmental agencies, where past relationships were poor and oppressive, is entirely new and would have been inconceivable in the past. Because traditional basketmakers cannot obtain supplies at "Basketworld," cooperative relationships with landowners and natural resource experts are a must, in order to ensure that sources of natural materials are nurtured and protected. Private foundations have played an important role in organizational support and to an extent in protection of natural resources. Hopefully, they will continue to play a role, as sources of governmental funding become increasingly rare.

For more information…

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P.O. Box 3253
Old Town, ME 04468

Mount Pleasant Sweetgrass Basketmakers
Association
P.O. Box 761
Mt. Pleasant, SC 29464

Marie H. Rouse working on a basket, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, 1994
(Photo by Dale Rosengarten)

Passing It On

While most Native California basketweavers do not consider economic development important to the maintenance of their weaving heritage, basketmakers in Maine and South Carolina consider market expansion and increased marketing efforts to be critical to the successful continuation of theirs. Although not all Mt. Pleasant basketmakers belong to the Association, the increase in prices for this previously little known art form has benefited all. Prices have also increased in Maine and in both areas, the quality of baskets has risen, as basketmakers find a renewed sense of pride in their culture and realize higher prices for higher quality work. The Maine Indian Basketmakers Alliance is currently researching the possibility of marketing baskets in a cooperative effort: as a vehicle for economic self-sufficiency for the organization, as well as for the individual basketmaker.

Intergenerational teaching as a means of cultural preservation is stressed among all three groups and has directly resulted in increased numbers of younger basketmakers. According to Mary Jackson, people are coming back to sweetgrass basketry, passing skills from mother to daughter to granddaughter. These basketmakers are determined to pass on the tradition that their slave ancestors clung to, after having been forced from their West African homeland with little more than their cultural knowledge and skills. In some tribal groups, the basketmaking tradition is literally hanging by a blade of grass. California Indian basketweaver, Michelle Scholfield Noonan (Wintu), learned basketmaking skills from Vivien Hailstone, a Karuk basketweaver, because she could find no more Wintu weavers to teach her. California Indian basketweaver, Lorene Sisquoc (Cahuilla/Apache) said, "There are a lot of hidden people who have the knowledge, but left the tradition. Now they are coming out and seeing us younger people doing it and saying, 'I know how to do that, I can teach you.' "

Basketmakers from the three regions unanimously acknowledge a great need to come together as unified groups of weavers. Basketmakers in Maine and California gather in annual celebrations of the tradition to discuss common issues, socialize and teach. According to CIBA Executive Director, Sara Greensfelder, "The Annual Gatherings are the cornerstone of CIBA." A significant number of new basketmakers participate in the Learners' Circles at CIBA's Annual Gatherings. Their gatherings have been a source of inspiration for basketmakers in the Southwest and Northwest, resulting in a Washington State American Indian Basketweavers Gathering in October, 1995 (as well as the subsequent formation of the Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association) and a Southwest Indian Basketweavers Gathering in May, 1996. Regional Native basketweavers' gatherings are also being planned in the southeast and the Great Lakes. Richard Silliboy (Micmac), MIBA basketmaker, notes, "The Alliance needs to come together more [often]. Basketmakers see something happening and people are coming on board, dealing with issues as a group." Mt. Pleasant basketmaker Henrietta Snype notes, "It's time for another conference. We should be focusing on marketing abroad and other new projects."

Although my great-aunt did star in a silent movie and became a well-known dancer in the U.S. and abroad, my great-grandmother made baskets until she died at the age of 91. Since that time, basketmaking has arisen from the depths of extreme poverty and oppression in Maine to become one of the most respected and sought after folk arts in the country. In 1994, 86-year-old Passamaquody basketmaker Mary Mitchell Gabriel became a recipient of the coveted National Heritage Fellowship, the nation's highest folk art honor given by the National Endowment for the Arts, which came with a $10,000 cash award. Today, baskets made by my great grandmother, my great aunt and me share exhibit space at the Hudson Museum gallery of the University of Maine, made in three different generations, but using the same gauges and blocks: a basketmaking legacy too strong to be wished away.

“A FEW YEARS BACK I WAS TALKING TO A PROGRAM OFFICER FOR A PROMINENT NATIONAL FOUNDATION WHO REMARKED THAT FOLKLORE OR FOLK ART WAS AN OFF-PUTTING, 'RETRO' TERM. 'CALL IT SOMETHING ELSE.' I ANSWERED, 'BECAUSE WHAT IT DESCRIBES IS REAL, IT WON'T GO AWAY.'

COUNTING US IN

It *won't* go away. To compile mailing lists for the survey assessing the range of folk arts interest and activity, we received 1539 addresses covering 42 states from folk arts (and, on occasion, ethnic arts) grant applicant lists and other mailing lists from state and regional arts agencies. The Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies maintains a database of approximately 600 "community scholars"—individuals who, without formal training, have shown a significant contribution to the collection, preservation and presentation of traditional culture in a community or region.[1] In 1992, the Department of the Interior's Indian Arts and Crafts Board published *Potential Marketing Outlets for Native American Artists and Craftspeople*, an address directory containing 1302 entries.[2] The 1995 Directory of the American Association of Museums listed 91 entries under folk arts as one of seven categories of art museums.[3] According to the 1994 *Quilting in America* survey, there are an estimated number of active, dedicated quilters in excess of 800,000 throughout the country.[4] In the Association of Performing Arts Presenters' *1995 Profile of Member Organizations*, folk or traditional music is ranked as the third most-frequently presented type of music by members (out of a list of ten).[5] In their 1991-92 survey of members and non-members, folk or traditional music was ranked by both groups as the most frequently-presented music.[6]

What do numbers tell us? For one thing, the numbers above and those listed throughout this study tell us that there is a significant level of cultural and artistic activity occurring throughout this country that rarely registers in statistical surveys of arts activity. Joe Wilson's piece speaks movingly about two such art forms. They also indicate that there are alternative ways of organizing, distributing and presenting art which exist alongside accepted notions of arts programming and organizing. Ultimately, they suggest how we diminish our choices and opportunities for a full and meaningful participation in the cultures around us when we restrict our notions of what art is, what "arts" organizations do and what they look like.

The chapter's title, however, is also meant to suggest that we do more than count the full range of artistic activity and cultural institutions in this country. It also means that we need to welcome and honor the artists, the many cultural traditions and organizations that enrich all of our lives—in simple and not so simple ways. Broadening categories in data information gathering beyond the catch-all category of "other" is a beginning. The National Heritage Fellowships, the People's Hall of Fame or the efforts of the National Rhythm and Blues Foundation to lobby for back royalty payments owed rhythm and blues artists are still other ways of recognizing diverse artists and cultural contributions in our society.

PERFORMERS FOR **AUSTINLORE: BLACK URBAN PERFORMANCE TRADITIONS**, A PROGRAM PRODUCED BY TEXAS FOLKLIFE RESOURCES, GATHER FOR A PUBLICITY PHOTO. (PHOTO BY LYNNE DOBSON/COURTESY OF AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN)

CHAPTER SIX

BLUES AND BLUEGRASS: TOUGH ARTS OF THE UNDERCLASS

> "PEOPLE THINK I STICK TO THIS OLD MOUNTAIN MUSIC BECAUSE WE'RE A LITTLE ISOLATED, BUT THEY'RE WRONG. WE'VE HAD RADIO AND TELEVISION SINCE THEY STARTED. I WORKED IN NEW YORK AFTER THE WAR; HEARD A LOT OF GOOD MUSIC. BUT THIS MUSIC IS PERSONAL, A GIFT FROM MY MOTHER AND FATHER. WHEN I SING THEIR SONGS I CAN HEAR THEIR VOICES AND ALMOST SEE THEIR FORMS."
>
> Stanley Hicks
> Appalachian musician

BY JOE WILSON

Blues and bluegrass are arts of the underclass that are prospering despite the inattention of New York, Hollywood, Nashville and Washington. Yes, I know it is jarring to speak of an American underclass. We like to pretend that we have only one socio-economic group ("middle") structured like ancient Egypt, with upper and lower parts. This odd egalitarian myopia distorts our artistic perception and confuses understanding of why our popular culture is so strong.

The recent success of blues and bluegrass fascinates because these musical forms are modern branches of an ancient tree of American culture, one that has grafted European and African forms since colonial times. As in other folk arts of the American underclass, blues and bluegrass fuel our popular culture. Concepts that came to North America long ago from Africa and Europe continually jostle, blend and re-blend: minstrelsy, cakewalk, ragtime, jazz, country, rock, rap, hip-hop. Some of these sounds reflect our national experience and our highest and lowest yearnings: cakewalk music grew from a fundraising tool for 19th century country schools; jazz from the background music in New Orleans dance halls and brothels.

The South has been the place where Africa and Europe jostled and blended most. It is an especially interesting place today as Europeans and a stream of Japanese engage in what has been dubbed "cultural tourism." At Ole Miss in 1994 I met a van load of young German tourists, blond, rich in accents, generous with beer, and eager to talk the blues. They'd been trekking the torpid and featureless Delta in a rented mini-van, visiting sites associated with blues master Robert Johnson. Mysteriously poisoned in 1938, the youthful Johnson was laid in an unmarked grave. Any search for artifacts associated with him is invariably fruitless, but still tourists come. One earnest European pleaded, "Tell me how you discover the blues?" in the soul-searching manner of a zealot inquiring after a conversion experience. He told of having his life changed by hearing Hound Dog Taylor in a Chicago blues joint where fist fights were almost as common as third beers. I told about a long walk on the western slope of the Blue Ridge in Tennessee's easternmost county fifty years earlier and meeting a musician wearing horizontal stripes. They listened with rapt attention.

I first heard the blues on a hot June afternoon in 1943. I was five years old and following my Grandma along a gravel road that led past Brushy Mountain Prison Camp Number 3. The inmate barracks were long rows of A-roofed whitewashed frame buildings. The prisoners were all black and most were from five hundred miles to the West in Memphis ("the real capital of Mississippi"), chain gang members who repaired roads and bridges. White guards in porkpie hats

Blues guitarist John Dee Holeman and pianist Quentin "Fris" Holloway. The two men frequently perform together and are both recipients of the North Carolina Folk Heritage Award. (Photo by Cedric N. Chatterley ©1996)

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and bib overalls with 30-30 caliber lever action carbines in shoulder slings watched from rickety towers perched outside a high barbed wire fence.

Grandma and I were walking from Mom and Dad's little farm on Bulldog Creek to her home above the high falls on Roaring Creek. It was ten dusty miles and we'd walked six before we came to the prison camp. Grandma thought it would be good to rest her young charge and drink some water at the springhouse of the Bryant home across the road from the camp entrance. One of the Bryant children explained stripes to me. Vertical stripes meant they'd be released some day. Horizontal meant they'd be in prison until they died.

A huddle of prisoners had gathered at a twelve inch square opening in the fence. Through it they sold hand tooled leather wallets and belts. A big man with fierce countenance and horizontal stripes was playing a booming Sears and Roebuck guitar and singing with a heartfelt passion that enchanted me. My new friend whispered that he was Booger Bear, lead trusty on the bridge crew. He said he only looked scary, that he was actually very nice. My grandma had to take my hand and pull me away from his intense and euphoric performance.

After that I saw Booger Bear many times. A showman, his powerful hands could bend in half a steel bridge pin. Guitar players visited Booger's bridge crew, seeking instruction in his fluid finger-picked guitar style. There was a lore about him: he'd caught his wife in the arms of another man and strangled both. His songs were the blues classics of the Mississippi Delta: "I Want To Die Easy Lord," "My Dough Roller Is Gone," "Walking Blues," "The Easy Rider" and the oft requested "Wish I Could Bring 'Em Back," a song we believed to be his autobiography. Nickels and dimes earned with his music bought his supply of Prince Albert smoking tobacco, but most went into "Booger's bucket." This container was emptied each December to buy hams for the camp Christmas dinner.

Three years after hearing Booger Bear I discovered bluegrass during its earliest defining moments. Electric power had not yet found its way to our part of the Blue Ridge, but my family had a battery-powered radio and we sat in a warm glow of yellow kerosene light as we listened to the Grand Ole Opry on Saturday nights.

We were present at the radio in 1946 when youthful North Carolina Piedmont banjoist Earl Scruggs joined Bill Monroe's band, the Bluegrass Boys. It seemed that the entire South tuned in during the weeks that followed. Scruggs offered effervescent banjo "breaks," and Monroe's mandolin stuttered and soared while Southern long-bow fiddler Chubby Wise tied ribbons of rich phrases around their sound. An acoustic bass and guitar provided rhythm and the band members were as vocally proficient as instru-

A Few Blues and Bluegrass Musical Facts

The International Bluegrass Music Association, based in Owensboro, Kentucky, has a membership over 2,300.

In the U.S. alone, there are over 140 annual blues festivals. The *Living Blues Directory* lists 37 annual festivals abroad. There are also over 800 clubs throughout the U.S. that book blues music on a regular basis.

For Tennessee's Bicentennial, the Tennessee Arts Commission's Folk Arts Program published a *Folk Music Directory* containing over 300 listings of artists—including blues, bluegrass, country, gospel and sacred music—available for bookings. In Mississippi and Northwest Alabama, there are over 24 active African American Shape Note and Vocal Music Singing Conventions, most of whom meet on a regular basis.*

According to the Census Bureau's 1992 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts, the five most popular forms of music included country music, blues/ rhythm and blues, and gospel and hymns. Bluegrass was listed as ninth.**

* "The African American Shape Note & Vocal Music Singing Convention Directory: Mississippi and Areas of Northwest Alabama" *Mississippi Folklife* 27 (1994): 1-44. Special Issue.

** Nicholas Zill and John Robinson, "Name That Tune," *American Demographics*, August 1994, p.24.

Country Music Foundation

1996 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary for the Nashville-based Country Music Foundation, one of the most popular and significant museums and research centers in the U.S. devoted to the study of American folk and popular music. "Nearly 300,000 people a year visit the CMF Hall of Fame and Museum but," Director Bill Ivey said, "From very early on, the Foundation's board recognized the need for a research center. It was clear that the music required something more than just a Hall of Fame." The organization now has a full-time staff of [illegible] a 40,000 square foot facility and a library with 95 percent of all country music recorded before World War II. While CMF takes their archives seriously, they are equally serious about making materials accessible to the public. The Foundation has a publications program and is now at work on an Encyclopedia of Country Music. Their acclaimed series of historic recordings makes available rare and unreleased material by artists such as Hank Williams or Faron Young. Musician and CMF Board Vice President Emmylou Harris says, "The Country Music Foundation is so respectful of the music, and it's such an entertaining place to visit for anyone who enjoys music. They do their work with a lot of devotion and reverence. It's not just about artifacts and mementos. It's about music."

Informal bluegrass jam session at the 1987 Smithville Fiddler's Jamboree.
(Photo by Robert Cogswell)

The People's Hall of Fame: "Ordinary People Doing Extraordinary Things"

Since 1992, five or six of New York City's most extraordinary individuals are honored every year for their creative contributions to the city's folk culture. Hundreds of people crowd into the Great Hall at Cooper Union to attend the annual ceremony for City Lore's People's Hall of Fame awards which celebrate those individuals, to quote City Lore Director Steve Zeitlin, "who live their art and embody tradition in their communities." To publicize the event, placards in city buses and subway cars tell one million New Yorkers the stories about local heroes who contribute to culture in the city's neighborhoods. Most of the honorees perform as part of the program. And, in the future, City Lore plans a multimedia gallery and resource center to highlight the honorees and house exhibits about grassroots culture in New York City. Past People's Hall of Fame honorees include lindy hop dancer Frankie Manning, klezmer violinist Sid Beckerman, quilter Virginia Hall, Puerto Rican musician and cultural advocate Juan Gutierrez, and Tony Spina, owner of Tannen's Magic Shop. Nominations are invited from City Lore members and interested individuals and each year's honorees are selected by a committee working closely with City Lore's Board of Directors.

TONY SPINA, OWNER OF TANNEN'S MAGIC SHOP, WAS INDUCTED INTO CITY LORE'S PEOPLE'S HALL OF FAME IN 1995. (PHOTO BY HARVEY WANG ©1996)

mentally sophisticated. The songs they sang were about leaving home for the factories of the North, lost love, the old home, and religion. They had the lonesome quality of the old Celtic ballads, a rich African-derived harmony, and the insinuating immediacy of a new popular form. No band in the history of American music has spawned as many instant imitators.

Ours was a family of musicians and we knew the ancient Southern string band had arrived at a fork in the road. This was a new music for concerts, not dancing. The fiddle was no longer in charge; other instruments could take the lead. The younger banjoists in our community were instantly at work, trying to learn Scruggs' keep-it-syncopated style, playing even the rests, always a forward rush in the music. First performed for live audiences in country schoolhouses on the Southern backwoods "kerosene circuit," this new sound soon moved north with Southern migrants.

These sounds were of interest to major label recording companies through most of the 50s. When I arrived in Washington, D. C. in 1956, it blared in tough hillbilly bars and on a Virginia radio station advertising used cars and cheap furniture. The station offering blues was just one notch to the right of the bluegrass station on the AM dial. But, by the time I arrived in Nashville to work in the recording business in 1959, interest had waned. The music business anticipates fads, invests early, and gets out. No one in

1987 National Heritage Fellow Genoveva Castellanoz, maker of coronas, Nyssa, Oregon
(Photo by Jan Boles ©1996)

National Heritage Fellowships

The National Endowment for the Arts awards the National Heritage Fellowships to a baker's dozen of traditional artists every year honoring artistic excellence, authenticity of style, and contributions to the well-being of the traditions they represent and to the cultural life of the nation. Individuals are nominated by a fellow citizen, selected by a national advisory panel of experts in folk and traditional arts, and are reviewed by the National Council for the Arts and the Arts Endowment Chairman. 197 awards have been made from 1982 to 1996 to recipients who include blues musician B.B. King, Navajo basketmaker Mary Holiday Black, Mexican American corona maker Genoveva Castellanoz, Appalachian banjo player and singer Ralph Stanley, and Lao weaver/needle worker and loom builder Mone and Vanxay Saenphimmachak. Bess Hawes, former director of the Folk Arts Program, said in 1988, "...these Fellowships gather in and celebrate old immigrants and new together, the visual artists and the performing artists, the speakers of many tongues, people who live in our quiet places and people from our teeming cities. The National Heritage Fellowships simply serve as a temporary pause in this unending stream of creative energy, a time when we can reflect on how lucky we are, how great a debt we owe to our traditional artists everywhere."

the business believed that blues or bluegrass had a future.

The industry could hardly have been more wrong. There was a revival of these arts in the 60s among young Yankees protesting the war and their own — shades of Egypt — upper middle class origins. Blues and bluegrass were adopted by a small educated elite in a process that was at least as political as it was musical. But revivals and adoptions are puny processes when compared to True Belief.

During these years, migrants from the Delta made Chicago blues an urban music performed in clubs with dance floors. The music became electric in order to compete in noisy barrooms. There was a corresponding growth in bluegrass, some also in beer joints and clubs, but largely centered on rural festivals. The audiences for these forms are carefully focused. In fact, "audience" is not a word that serves well. Here it is not easy to separate sellers and buyers. Tickets and other products are purchased by persons who are sometimes themselves performers and absolutely certain they own this art.

Over a period of twenty-five years, networks of organized support developed for these art forms. The cliched term "grassroots," is often applied to this support from mom and pop businesses, independent record labels and voluntary associations. There's a welter of statistics which show that small businesses and voluntary groups have engendered growth and stability in these art forms. Eight recording

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companies issued most blues recordings in 1960. In 1995 there were 233 companies issuing blues recordings, most of them issuing only blues recordings.[7] This proliferation of small independent record labels renders major recording companies largely irrelevant to new recordings of blues and bluegrass (and, for that matter, other forms of traditional music).

Chicago-based Alligator Records is now the premiere blues label, one that has a world-wide following and sells more blues recordings than any other label. It had its genesis at a concert by blues performer Mississippi Fred McDowell. In the audience was college student Bruce Iglauer who recalls, "It was as if he reached out and grabbed me by the collar, shook me, and spoke directly to me." Iglauer immersed himself in the blues, hosted a blues program on the college radio station and took a job as a shipping clerk for a small Chicago blues label. He used a $2,500 inheritance in 1971 to start Alligator.

The Sugar Hill label specializes in bluegrass and contemporary folk. Located in Durham, North Carolina, it is a 1978 creation of Barry Poss, then a James B. Duke fellow at Duke University. Poss abandoned a budding academic career in mid-thesis to start a shoestring label. Sugar Hill now issues the best-selling bluegrass recordings and is a frequent recipient of record industry awards.

Much of this is obviously a triumph of niche marketing. It reflects the use of cutting edge technology and communication skills to weld new audiences that support and expand the audiences for older folk art forms. But there's a critically important factor not to miss: Iglauer, Poss and other businessmen who created a new wave of successful recording companies in the past twenty-five years were inspired by the artists and art forms, not by business schools. They are as much in thrall of great artistry as any other group of arts leaders.

In 1995, there were 127 local blues societies and 289 local bluegrass societies in the U.S. — almost all created during the preceding 20 years and virtually all volunteer-run organizations.[8] They range in size from a hundred members to thousands. Most have newsletters and sponsor summer festivals and concert series supported by ticket sales. An example is the Washington, D.C. Blues Society which began in 1988 with a meeting of eight fans in a barbershop. A year and a half later it had grown to a thousand dues-paying members.

In 1965, the first bluegrass festival was held in Virginia. In 1996, 516 bluegrass festivals will be held in an amazing array of locations, including five on winter cruise ships.[9] These are in the USA and Canada, but other nations have them as well. The largest outdoor music festival held in the Czech Republic is a bluegrass festival. Today, more than 300 bluegrass bands are active in Tokyo, Japan.

Quilting in America

In an effort to gauge the breadth and depth of interest in quilting, the first in-depth survey of American quilters, *Quilting in America*, sponsored by Quilters Newsletter Magazine and Quilts, Inc. of Texas, was conducted in the summer of 1994.* Two surveys were distributed—the first to a random sampling of 40,000 U.S. households and the second to 2,000 randomly selected known, active quilters from club, magazine subscription and fabric customer lists. Response rates for both surveys exceeded 76% and revealed the following information:

- An estimated 15.5 million quilters over the age of 18 (or 6% of the U.S. population) are involved in quilting in some way. The majority span two generations (35-75) with an average age of 52. 32% are aged 18-34.
- Total annual quilt market expenditures are estimated at $1.554 billion. A core of self-identified active quilters (estimated at 840,000 quilters or 5.4% of all quilters with quilting-related purchases of $400 or more per year) account for nearly 50% of these expenditures.

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- The densest concentration of all quilting activity per capita occurs in the middle of the country—upper midwest, plains, south central and mountain states. Perhaps indicating greater affluence, active quilting activity occurs most frequently in the Northeast and the Pacific Coast regions.

- A majority of active quilters prefer traditional quilts and quilt patterns and most combine machine and hand-piecing techniques. A majority of known, active quilters pursue quilting as a leisure pursuit and, surprisingly, 92% of known, active quilters prefer to work alone.

*Source: Jonathan Holstein, "Discovering 'The Dedicated Quilter,'" *The Quilt Journal* (1995), vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 14-16. An executive summary of the survey conducted by NFO Research, Inc. and ABACUS Custom Research, Inc. is available from Quilter's Newsletter Magazine.

QUILTER LORRAINE MAHAN, PHILADELPHIA.
(PHOTO BY ROLAND FREEMAN ©1996)

What speaks to these audiences? Many audience members seem to share the Iglauer moment: grabbed by the collar, shook, and given a message. The blues are as much religious experience as art form. They enable the sharing of a sublime joy or a whisper from the abyss. Bluegrass seems to speak internationally to working people: one of the finest young contemporary bands is Russian.

The statistics are impressive, but attendance figures, record sales, and audience demographics are not the critical measure of any art form. A far more important measure is concerned with elasticity. Is there room for growth? There seems to be plenty in these forms. Blues and bluegrass continue to evolve, good ideas are welcome. These two modern branches of the old growth Southern string band tree tell us that a secret of longevity is innovation: one keeps the old by keeping it new.

But surely the best kept secret is that ownership enables continuity. Blues and bluegrass are two of the more marginalized American art forms, supported sporadically and often ignored by philanthropic and commercial entities. Yet they are surviving and thriving. This is because they are like other great art forms in having the power to speak to the soul. And these tough arts of the underclass offer up a lesson for everyone:
art is kept in the heart
of believers or not at all.

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"IF WE CONTINUE TO ALLOW THE EROSION OF OUR CULTURAL FORMS, SOON THERE WILL BE NO PLACE TO VISIT AND NO PLACE TO TRULY CALL HOME."[1]

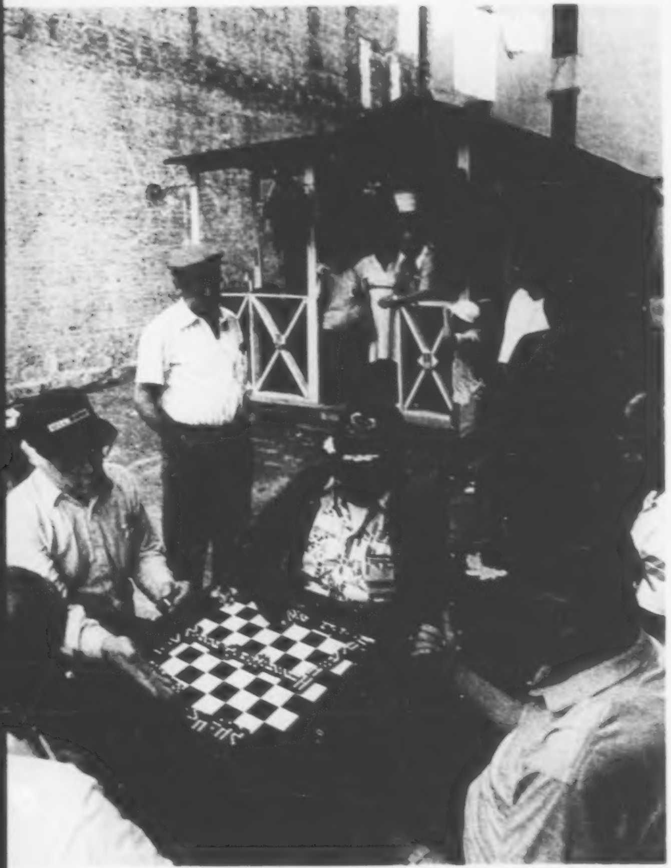
Alan Lomax

COMING HOME

We return to the beginning. In a recent monograph on folk arts published by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, folklorist Robert Baron identified two dominant and conflicting cultural trends confronting us all as a new century begins. Mass communications, new technologies and mass culture are penetrating the remotest areas of the globe, appropriating elements of local and regional cultures at breakneck pace and leaving behind a "cultural gray-out" and sense of sameness. At the same time, however, "local, ethnic and regional communities are asserting their identities with growing intensity." No one knows anymore the descriptive adjectives that characterize "the American public" because there are many publics. As institutions recognize and adapt to the dramatic demographic shifts taking place in the U.S. (and elsewhere), they must also grapple with how best to serve a populace with diverse cultural legacies, languages, values and artistic traditions. We may watch some of the same television shows, cheer the same football teams or shop at some of the same stores. We may share sympathies or affiliations to certain public or national symbols and hold some beliefs and values in common but we are no longer tied to each other through "practices of commitment," to return to a phrase from the introduction.

Throughout this study, we have suggested that traditional arts and folk culture are manifestations of the ties that do bind people one to the other and they constitute rich artistic and community resources which are frequently forgotten and sometimes willfully ignored. Through example, we have also explored the ways in which individuals, events and organizations function in relationship to communities and traditions and through the statistical data, we have glimpsed the immensity of involvement and interest in disparate areas of traditional culture and among disparate communities. To fully cultivate and sustain these resources, however, requires several challenges—the first and perhaps most important one being to develop "a new kind of cultural vision, one that honors cultural differences, one that sees strength in complex cultural traditions, practices and expressions. . . ." to quote Kurt Dewhurst. In many ways, it's simply a matter of respect and the benefits are several: broadening constituencies, encouraging understanding among diverse cultural groups and expanding cultural resources.

A second challenge is largely pragmatic and involves considering the ways to make broader recognition and participation possible. Central issues in this process involve the development of more inclusive definitions of what constitutes "art," what constitutes an "arts" organization as well as more holistic and flexible approaches to efforts involving cultural presentation and conservation. Such a challenge demands that we fully grapple with the information and findings presented throughout this study and develop



DAILY ACTIVITY AT A PUERTO RICAN CASITA IN NEW YORK CITY.
CASITAS ARE TRADITIONAL GATHERING PLACES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL ACTIVITY.
(PHOTO BY MARTHA COOPER © 1996)

methods of inquiry to expand this information base further. As the case studies and data from NASAA and NuStats presented earlier indicate, we are not considering a discipline or genre defined in a traditional sense. The folk arts encompass a multiplicity of genres, aesthetic systems, cultural contexts and meanings. Folk arts activity finds a home in Carnegie Hall, community development corporations, schools, folk arts organizations, historical societies, blues clubs and roadside basket stands. As some of the numbers and statistical information indicate, funding and resources for the folk arts exist in myriad places. NASAA estimates mentioned previously suggest that programmatic support for the folk arts also exists in rural initiatives, arts in education programs and ethnic or minority arts funding programs.[3] Many civic and community organizations generate support through locally-based systems of bartering and reciprocal exchange. Some folk arts find broader networks of distribution in the institutionalized worlds of commerce and mass media.

The point here, however, is not to collectively congratulate ourselves on serving the folk arts and traditional culture well. We must remember that state and federal arts funding for the folk arts has hovered in the 2-3% range for the past eight to ten years.[4] Rather, we should pause to consider the immensity of folk and traditional arts activity. We should ask ourselves if cultural activity so pervasive yet oft times hidden is best served or viewed in a piecemeal or program-by-program fashion. We should ask ourselves if folk and traditional arts activity is best served by artificial distinctions between presentation and conservation, between arts and humanities—distinctions which often do not exist in the daily life of communities. What are meaningful ways to strengthen artistic and cultural traditions within communities? While many funding programs and policy makers have come to recognize the importance of organizational support as a critical force of stabilization for many cultural organizations, they must also realize that conservation, documentation and training efforts involving the presentation and transmission of living artistic and cultural traditions serve similar functions for communities as well. They *are* the critical efforts of stabilization and continuity for some and, without them, there will be nothing to pass on for future generations. Without them, there will be nothing to share with others right now.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Susan Auerbach, formerly the Folk Arts Coordinator for the City of Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department, is a freelance writer and arts consultant. She is the author of *In Good Hands: State Apprenticeship Programs in Folk & Traditional Arts, 1983-1995* (NEA, 1996).

Deborah Boykin is the folk arts coordinator for the Mississippi Arts Commission.

Mark Fogelquist teaches bilingual education and a mariachi-in-the-schools program at the junior high school and high school levels in Wenatchee, Washington. Before taking up teaching, he was the director of Mariachi Uclatlán in Los Angeles. An internationally recognized authority on mariachi history and performance, he is a frequent instructor at mariachi festivals in the Southwest.

Theresa Hoffman is a geologist for the Penobscot Nation. She is a Penobscot basketmaker as well as a founding member and the executive director of the Maine Indian Basketmakers Alliance.

Elizabeth Peterson, formerly Director of Traditional Arts for the New England Foundation for the Arts, has over fifteen years experience in folk arts programming and as an arts consultant. She is the author and editor of this report.

Buck Ramsey is a native Texan and a regular at the Cowboy Poetry Gathering. He has two recordings of traditional cowboy songs—*Rolling Uphill from Texas* and *My Home, It Was in Texas*—and a book of poetry *And as I Rode Out on the Morning* to his credit. In 1995, he was a recipient of the National Heritage Fellowship awarded by the National Endowment for the Arts.

David Roche is an arts consultant and project director for **local cultures**/Musical Traditions, Inc., a consulting and producing nonprofit arts organization in the San Francisco Bay Area. Mr. Roche has been involved in diverse traditional and folk arts programming for the past thirty years. He has also served as a music producer and media consultant for several projects.

Joe Wilson has been the Executive Director of the National Council for the Traditional Arts since 1976, for which he has produced numerous festivals, national and international tours by folk artists as well as recordings and radio programs. He is also co-author with Lee Udall of *Folk Festivals: A Handbook for Organization and Management*.

NOTES

Chapter One

1. All information from the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies is information requested by the author and is based on data from states' Final Descriptive Reports as submitted annually to the NEA and NASAA. In particular, some of the data are based on the *1994 State Arts Agency Profile* and some are preliminary 1994 data which exclude Connecticut, the District of Columbia and American Samoa.

2. Unless otherwise noted, all data from NuStats, Inc., are based upon the two surveys which NuStats conducted for this study. Survey instruments were designed by the author in consultation with NEA staff and advisory committee members for the study, and implemented and analyzed by NuStats in 1995-96. The typology is based upon the listing of organizations responding to the questionnaire.

3. Elinor Bowles, *Cultural Centers of Color* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts, 1992) p. 25.

4. *An American Dialogue: The National Task Force on Presenting and Touring the Performing Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Association Of Performing Arts Presenters, 1989) p. 29.

5. Peter Guralnick, *Lost Highway* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979) p. 6.

6. Unless otherwise noted, all general statistical information comes from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990*.

7. Kate Carter Frederick, "Seeds, Glorious Seeds," *Garden Ideas and Outdoor Living* Spring 1995: 36. Data are based on information from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

8. "The New Face of America: How Immigrants Are Shaping the World's First Multicultural Society" *Time* (special issue) Fall 1993: 15. Information source is *Newcomers in American Schools* (New York: Rand, 1992).

9. Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steven M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1985) pp.153-54.

Chapter Two

1. NASAA data requested by the author, based on the *1994 State Arts Agency Profile*, indicate that 33 state arts agencies administering apprenticeship programs awarded 237 grants ($417,849). The total number of apprenticeship grants awarded exceeds any other funding activity category for folk arts, although in dollar amounts spent apprenticeship programs rank fourth out of 26 funding activity categories.

2. Information for this article was based on research of written materials and on interviews with individuals including Belle Ortiz, Nati Cano, Pepe Martinez and José Hernández.

3. Information for this article was based on research conducted by Auerbach on behalf of the NEA Folk & Traditional Arts Program for the 1995 survey of apprenticeship programs, *In Good Hands: State Apprenticeship Programs in Folk & Traditional Arts, 1983-1995*. Research included data from written program surveys as well as interviews with artists and folk arts coordinators.

Chapter Three

1. Carlos Fuentes, "Crucible of Fiction," lecture, George Mason University, 14 April 1988.

2. David Maybury-Lewis, foreword, *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development: Cases from Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Charles David Kleymeyer (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994) p. xiv.

3. Research for the sections on Cambodian dance were based on interviews with Sam-Ang Sam, John and Sophiline Shapiro, Judith Luther Wilder and Cecily Cook as well as numerous articles and concert program notes.

4. Research for the sections on kulintang are based on interviews with Danongan Sibay Kalanduyan, Usopay Hamdag Cadar, Daniel Giray and members of the kulintang workshop organized by University of the Philippines Alumni Association in San Francisco.

5. Barry Jean Ancelet and Elemore Morgan, Jr., *The Makers of Cajun Music* (Austin: University of Texas Press) p. 33.

Chapter Four

1. Barre Toelken, "In the Stream of Life: An Essay on Oregon Folk Art," *Webfooters and Bunchgrassers: Folk Art of the Oregon Country* edited by Suzi Jones (Salem: Oregon Arts Commission, 1980) p. 8.

2. Research for this article is based on numerous newspaper and magazine articles as well as interviews with Patricia Crosby, Hystercine Rankin, Geraldine Nash, Essie Mae Buck, Gustina Atlas, Mary Ann Norton, Edna Montgomery, Irene Holmes, Marie Farmer and James Miller.

3. Bruce Coppock, speech, Grantmakers in the Arts, Arcata, CA, 10 Oct. 1995, p.3.

4. All charts and tables in this article were developed by NuStats, Inc., Austin, Texas and are based on survey work conducted with folk arts private non-profit organizations at the request of the author.

5. Research for this article is based on numerous written materials and on interviews conducted with Jane Beck, Phyllis Brzozowska, Pat Jasper, Debora Kodish, Tim Lloyd, Tara McCarty, Scott Nagel, Ethel Raim, Gerard Wertkin and Steve Zeitlin. Portions of this article appeared in an earlier unpublished report for the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund. The author gratefully acknowledges the Fund's support in preparing this article.

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1. Patrick Breslin, "Identity and Self-Respect," *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development: Cases from Latin America and the Caribbean* edited by Charles David Kleymeyer (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994) pp. 39-40.

2. Robert Cogswell, "Doing Right by the Local Folks: Grassroots Issues in Cultural Tourism," *Tennessee's Business* 6:1 (1995): 14.

3. Research for this article is based on organizational newsletters, written materials and interviews with Sara Greensfelder, Mary Jackson, Dale Rosengarten, Richard Silliboy, Lorene Sisquoc, Henrietta Snype and Kathy Wallace.

4. Russell Bowman, "Speakeasy," *New Art Examiner* September, 1994: 61.

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1. "Community Scholar Survey," (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, n.d.) n.p.

2. Indian Arts and Crafts Board, United States Department of the Interior, *Potential Marketing Outlets for Native American Artists and Craftspeople* (Washington, D.C.: Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1992). Total entries are based on the author's tabulations.

3. American Association of Museums, *The Official Museum Directory 1995* (New Providence, NJ: RR Bowker, 1994) p. 1521.

4. Jonathan Holstein, "Discovering 'The Dedicated Quilter,'" *The Quilt Journal* (1995), vol. 4, no.1, pp. 14-16.

5. Association of Performing Arts Presenters, *1995 Profile of Member Organizations* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Performing Arts Presenters, 1995) pp. 11-22.

6. Association of Performing Arts Presenters, *1992 Profile of Member Organizations: Results of the 1991-92 Membership Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Performing Arts Presenters, 1993) pp. 17-22.

7. *Living Blues 1995 Blues Directory* (Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi, 1995). Totals are based on the author's tabulations.

8. Ibid.

9. Source of information is the International Bluegrass Music Association, Owensburg, Kentucky.

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1. Alan Lomax, *An Appeal for Cultural Equity*, 1985 Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife Program Book edited by Thomas Vennum, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1985) pp.40-46.

2. Robert Baron, *Anchored in Community Folk Arts and the Local Arts Agency*, National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies Monographs 5:1 February, 1996 pp. 1-3.

3. National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, *1994 State Arts Agency Profile*. As requested by the author.

4. National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, information based on state arts agency profiles from 1986-1994. As requested by the author.

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National Endowment for the Arts
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